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## **A catalogue of manuscripts known to contain Old English dry-point glosses**

Studer-Joho, Dieter

**Abstract:** While quill and ink were the writing implements of choice in the Anglo-Saxon scriptorium, other colouring and non-colouring writing implements were in active use, too. The stylus, among them, was used on an everyday basis both for taking notes in wax tablets and for several vital steps in the creation of manuscripts. Occasionally, the stylus or perhaps even small knives were used for writing short notes that were scratched in the parchment surface without ink. One particular type of such notes encountered in manuscripts are dry-point glosses, i.e. short explanatory remarks that provide a translation or a clue for a lexical or syntactic difficulty of the Latin text. The present study provides a comprehensive overview of the known corpus of dry-point glosses in Old English by cataloguing the 34 manuscripts that are currently known to contain such glosses. A first general descriptive analysis of the corpus of Old English dry-point glosses is provided and their difficult visual appearance is discussed with respect to the theoretical and practical implications for their future study.

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Dieter Studer-Joho

# A Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain Old English Dry-Point Glosses



narr\f  
ranck  
e\atte  
mpto

Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten  
Swiss Studies in English

Begründet von Bernhard Fehr

Herausgegeben von Andreas Fischer (Zürich), Martin Heusser (Zürich),  
Daniel Schreier (Zürich)

Band 142



Dieter Studer-Joho

A Catalogue of Manuscripts  
Known to Contain Old English  
Dry-Point Glosses

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*To my Parents*  
*Trudi and Sepp*





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# 1. Introduction

It was for the mere fact that I had a digital camera that I actually ever got into contact with dry-point glosses. Back in 2006, a colleague of mine – Prof. Dr. Andreas Nievergelt – asked me to accompany him to the *Zentralbibliothek Zürich* to take some pictures of a MS that contained what he called *Griffelglossen*. He was making the final changes to his dissertation on the OHG dry-point glosses in a Bavarian MS, which was just about to be published (i. e. Nievergelt 2007), and he wanted to embellish it further with some additional crisp pictures of several OHG dry-point glosses from two MSS of the nearby *Zentralbibliothek*. My ignorance of dry-point glosses back then was nearly complete. I had heard him and Prof. Dr. Elvira Glaser – for whom I worked as a student assistant at the time – talk about the subject and I had written a term paper in my minor subject German on some OHG ink glosses from St. Gallen. However, I was not even sure whether dry-point glossing was an exclusively Continental practice or whether the phenomenon was known from Anglo-Saxon MSS, too. Needless to say, when we finally stood around the first MS and Andreas pointed the glosses out to me I was fascinated: In a seemingly empty spot of a 9<sup>th</sup>-c. MS of ALDHELM's *Carmen de virginitate*, OHG letters started to appear as soon as the electric torch in his hand hit the MS surface at the right angle.<sup>1</sup>

Having myself a keen interest in Old English philology, I tried to find out whether the phenomenon was known from Anglo-Saxon studies, too, and I soon had to realize that there was hardly any information available on the subject, apart from general references to the existence of such glosses in passing (e. g. Lendinara 1991: 273). The most detailed piece of information I could gather was printed in Mechthild Gretsch's handbook entry on "Glosses" in the *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*:

Glosses may be entered in ink or with a stylus; such 'scratched' or 'dry-point' glosses are often visible under special lighting conditions only, and their original purpose is difficult to define. Many of these scratched glosses have not yet been published; presumably many more still await detection. (Gretsch 1999b: 209)

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1 Incidentally, the Aldhelm MS was Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Ms. C 59, written in St. Gallen, sec. ix (*BStK*: 1897–1898 [no. 1002]). The other MS was Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Ms. C 41, written in St. Gallen, sec. ix, first half (*BStK*: 1517 [no. 1019f]).

What I had hoped to find, however, was a list of MSS or at least an estimate of how many MSS there were known to feature dry-point writing. Having been schooled in OHG glossography, with its impressive gloss collections, multivolume handbooks, exhaustive bibliographies and specialized gloss dictionaries, my expectations were admittedly naïve. That kind of information was simply not available in the Anglo-Saxonist literature.

Probably the only common ground shared by virtually all scholars who have commented on or even have edited OE dry-point glosses is the suspicion that there are many more OE dry-point glosses yet to be found.

In the case of [Cambridge, CCC 285[6/K:54]<sup>2</sup>] I have, I believe, included all these [=dry-point] glosses, but in the case of the other MSS I gave up the attempt: the deciphering of the scratched glosses was so trying to the eyes, moreover it was so frequently impossible to read them with certainty, that I preferred to confine myself to the properly written glosses. (Napier 1900: xxxiii)

[I]t seems not at all unlikely that other manuscripts with large numbers of legible scratched glosses will yet come to attention. (Meritt 1945: viii)

The fact that they [the dry-point glosses in Cambridge, CCC 57[3/K:34]] were not spotted earlier shows how chancy finding such glosses is and how unlikely it is that our corpus of them is anything like complete. (Page 1979: 30)

In several articles, R.I. Page calls for scholars to pay more attention to dry-point glosses, which, as Beinecke 401[24/K:12] shows, can still be found in large numbers even in well-known and well-studied manuscripts. I would like to add encouragement for such study. A large body of Old English remains hidden and unexplored which will add to our knowledge of both the Old English lexicon and the workings of the Anglo-Saxon classroom. (Rusche 1994: 203)

More than 100 years after the publication of the first major edition of OE dry-point glosses by A. S. Napier (1900), it seemed to me in order to establish a first comprehensive view of this particular subject by compiling the information that is presently available in the literature. I decided to collect everything I could find on the subject of OE dry-point glosses in order to establish a list of MSS known

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2 I refer to MSS that are included in the *Catalogue* below by giving their number followed by a slash and the MS's Ker number (if available) in square brackets, e.g. "London, BL Royal 13 A. xv [21/K:266]". MSS that do have a Ker number, but have not yet been identified as OE dry-point gloss MSS, are accompanied only by their Ker number in square brackets, e.g. "London, British Library Harley 110 [K:228]". If Anglo-Saxon MSS do not have a Ker number or if I specifically refer to a part of the MS which does not contain OE writing, they are identified by their Gneuss number in square brackets, e.g. "Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School 21 [G:755.5<sup>2</sup>]".



to contain OE dry-point glosses, which could form a first reference point for the comprehensive study of these glosses.<sup>3</sup> I asked Prof. Dr. Andreas Fischer – who had sparked my interest in Old English in the first place back in my undergraduate studies – whether I could write a Ph.D. thesis under his supervision on the topic and he was so kind to support my plans.

Probably the one property of dry-point glosses that has the most wide-reaching consequences for their study is their bad visibility. The extremely low contrast that is provided by the mere deformation of the parchment surface is quite markedly different from the sharp contrast that even the poorest of inks will produce. Consequently, since dry-point glosses are usually anything but conspicuous, even previously published glosses may be overlooked by new generations of philologists. This seems to have happened with the dry-point glosses in Salisbury, Cathedral 38 [31/K:378], for instance. Although edited by Napier (1893), they were overlooked by Gwara (2001a, 2001b), who was apparently not aware of Napier's additions to Logeman's (1891) first edition of many of the glosses in that MS. Against the backdrop of Gwara's continued (1993–2001), thorough and awe-inspiring work on ALDHELM glosses – with a pronounced focus on dry-point glosses – it is beyond doubt that his failure cannot be considered a mere slip, but must be seen as a structural failure in this field of research: The lack of a centralized and regularly updated catalogue of relevant MSS tends to leave the researcher in doubt whether all the relevant secondary sources have been identified. Furthermore, in the absence of a bibliography or a register documenting the state of research, what appears to be a discovery may turn out to have been edited before, as is the case with the dry-point glosses edited by McGowan (1998) from London, BL Royal 5. E. xi [19/K:252], which had already been edited by Gwara (1993; 1996b), though with partly differing results. The present compilation is faced with that same difficulty and it is easily possible that important resources have not been identified. Therefore, the resulting *Catalogue* may serve as a point of reference against which new finds can be compared.

It would be highly desirable for the advancement of the study of OE glossography to have a *Catalogue of Old English Gloss Manuscripts* at disposal, analogous to Bergmann and Stricker's *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsis-*

3 German secondary literature on OHG glossography uses the term "Griffelglossenhandschrift" for a MS that contains dry-point glosses (abbreviated as "Grgll.-Hs.", plural "Griffelglossenhandschriften", abbreviated as "Grgll.-Hss."). There is no similar established term in English or at least I have not encountered it. English literature uses the term "glossed MS" for MSS with glosses, but "dry-point-glossed MS" somehow seems clumsy to me, so I shall simply use the term "dry-point gloss MS" in imitation of the German term, until I come across a more appropriate term.

*chen Glossenhandschriften* (BStK). The study of OE glossography as a scholarly field, however, seems much further away from such an achievement than it was in 1986, when the leading OE gloss scholars met in Brussels, and a comprehensive approach to the study of OE glosses was felt to be on the verge of the possible.<sup>4</sup> The plans discussed there have not materialized, so my *Catalogue* is also meant as a specialized contribution towards such a co-ordinated *Catalogue of Old English Gloss Manuscripts*.

In some respects, the *Catalogue* given here represents an enhanced subset of Vaciano's (1993) little-known *Old English Glosses to Latin Texts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, which lists 157 MSS and which, in turn, represents a subset of Ker's (1957) magisterial *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. The rather specialist *Catalogue* presented here, however, has a much narrower depth of field than both Vaciano's and Ker's directories: it focuses on a specific way of adding writing to a MS, namely without any colouring matter. Such writing is easily overlooked, both in the MSS and in the secondary literature, so the *Catalogue* given here aims at giving Old English dry-point glosses additional profile by appreciating them as a materially (albeit not directly) related group in the hope that this approach may raise awareness both with gloss scholars and with palaeographers of the fascinating possibilities that are hidden in this particular kind of written data with its characteristic peculiarities and difficulties.

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4 The results of that conference are documented in Derolez (1992a).

## 2. Terminology and Scope

### 2.1 Vernacular Glossing in Anglo-Saxon England

#### 2.1.1 Additions in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts

Many extant medieval MSS do not only feature a main text (or several main texts in sequence), but also additional written material that can range from a couple of dots in the margins to a complete poem added on a previously empty part of a page. In the traditional terminology of OE glossography, only a particular sub-group of additions is referred to as “glosses”, namely words or short phrases that directly translate or comment on a particular phrase of the (commonly L.) base text. The present study takes the traditional approach and restricts the use of the term “glosses” to additions that are themselves made up of linguistic material, thereby excluding prosodic marks, construe marks and doodles. These other additions are worthy of study, and codicologists, palaeographers and art historians ought to look out for them, but the present study does not deal with them.<sup>1</sup> This approach is in line with the terminology of the traditional study of OE glossography (e.g. Napier 1900, Ker 1957, Meritt 1968, Page 1973, Gwara 2001) and it is in line with the usage of the term *Glossen* in German scholarly usage (*BStK*: 101–109; Henkel 2007: 727), summarized by Gretsche (1999b: 209) as “additions [to L. texts] of translations, synonyms or explanations (usually consisting of no more than a single word)”.

This traditional notion is somewhat at odds with the much more liberal approach to Anglo-Saxon glossing taken by Wieland’s (1983) influential study on the L. glossing in Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [K:16]. Wieland proposes a much broader definition of “glosses” that also includes non-linguistic additions, such as symbols and “anything on a page which is not text proper, but which is intended to comment on the text” (Wieland 1983: 7), explicitly including illustrations and drawings, too. Wieland’s more generous interpretation of the traditional notion of “glosses” to some extent reflects the needs of L. gloss scholars to subsume the many complex layers of additions that we encounter in many medieval MSS beside the L. main text under a convenient umbrella term. Wieland’s broad interpretation of the term “glosses” also seems to have been directly inspired by Robinson’s (1973) term “syntactical glosses”, which Robin-

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1 A few examples of such additions are discussed below on account of their being entered in dry-point.

son applies to what I think would be more appropriately termed construe marks (cf. Wieland 1983: 2). Construe marks are symbols or letters that are added to words of L. texts to indicate a particular word order that is easier to parse by the reader. The symbols and letters do not represent linguistic material themselves, as their only function is the indexation of a particular word order, which in turn is linguistic in nature, of course. Wieland's broad definition of "glosses" has gained currency in Anglo-Saxonist studies (cf. for instance Stork 1990) and at ISAS 2013 in Dublin, several non-linguist Anglo-Saxonist colleagues expressed their surprise that I did not include dry-point doodles in my *Catalogue*.

I do not think, however, that this re-interpretation of the well-established term "glosses" is helpful from the point of view of glossography and I can only agree with Korhammer (1980: 22), who rejects the use of the term "glosses" in connection with construe marks. By broadening the definition of the term "gloss" to include non-linguistic additions, we lose an effective means of referring to the different types of additions in medieval MSS, such as marks (i. e. syntactic marks, compilation marks, individual marks of unclear functional status etc.), doodles, names, pen trials, scholia, glosses etc. There is no apparent need to re-interpret the term "glosses" to include all of them, as they are functionally and formally so different that the only property that they share is the fact that they were added later. Hence, "additions" is a more appropriate umbrella term if we want to refer to them all at once.

Among the additions that are themselves made up of linguistic material, glosses are functionally distinguished by representing an explanatory comment on the L. base text. Names, pen trials and compilation marks are not considered in the *Catalogue* given below: Names may have been meant as owner's marks or as mere commemorative inscriptions featuring the writer's or somebody else's name; "pen trials" (or L. *probationes pennae*) is a somewhat misleading umbrella term for additional entries that cannot directly be connected to the base text; and compilation marks were added by the scribes during the preparation of the MS. They do all constitute important and interesting evidence for a MS's history and may provide highly relevant data for onomastic, literary, historical, palaeographical or codicological studies, but their contributions to medieval MSS typically fulfil an arguably different role than glosses.

### 2.1.2 Types of Old English Glosses

OE glosses are known to us from more than 200 MSS and they are extant in three different settings, which have often been understood as stages in the accumulation of glossographic knowledge during the Middle Ages (cf. Gretschi 1999b: 209–210).

The first of these settings is the so-called occasional glossing. Occasional glosses are individual OE interpretamenta added (sometimes seemingly randomly) to L. lemmata in a coherent L. text.<sup>2</sup> The density of occasional glossing can vary quite considerably in between MSS: Some MSS were furnished with several thousand OE and L. glosses; from others we only know of a handful of OE glosses. Unfortunately, we cannot generalize about the scriptorial context in which such occasional glosses were added to MSS, as we know rather little about this process. For some occasional glosses, we can assume that they were added spontaneously by a reader who tried to overcome a certain linguistic difficulty in the L. text. Perhaps that reader, let us assume he was a monk for the moment as this seems to be the most likely setting,<sup>3</sup> could ask a teacher or a fellow monk about the meaning of a particular word or phrase and after receiving that necessary piece of information decided to add it to the MS, perhaps as an *aide-mémoire* for himself or for the benefit of subsequent readers.

Some rare examples of such a process can be gleaned from the Leiden family of glossaries. The glossary preserved in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 913 [K:A29], p. 143, for instance, reads: “*larum* hragra adrianus dicit meum esse”, which might be translated as: ‘*larum* [that is in OE] a heron; Hadrian says it is a seagull’. Bischoff & Lapidge (1994: 288) demonstrate convincingly that this reference can only be to Bishop Hadrian, who taught in Canterbury around AD 700. He hailed from North Africa and was more closely familiar with the Mediterranean fauna as described in Leviticus 11:16, where this particular piece of L. vocabulary occurs. It may be inferred that Hadrian passed his first-hand knowledge of what L. *larus* exactly referred to on to his pupils in Canterbury. One of them perhaps noted this down, most likely directly into a copy of the Bible from where it was later culled and incorporated into the Leiden family of glossaries.

For other occasional glosses, however, it can be shown that they were copied wholesale from other MS witnesses of the same text. A well-studied group of MSS where this can be demonstrated is the so-called “Digby Group” (cf. Gwara 1998b). Occasional glosses in a MS, therefore, do not necessarily represent the spontaneous interaction of a reader with the text.

A second setting for OE glosses can be seen as an intensification of occasional glossing. In some MSS, glossing was undertaken more consistently, so that for some passages or even for most parts of the MS every or nearly every L. word was supplied with an interlinear translation. These so-called continuous interlinear glosses formed a kind of text themselves, which was, however, heavily

2 Glosses to base texts other than L. are very rare, but ME glosses on OE texts (cf. Franzen 1991) and OE glosses on OE texts, which were later incorporated into the OE text at some stage (cf. Bammesberger 1984), are attested.

3 From what I can gather, the typical Anglo-Saxon scribe/glossator was male.

influenced by the original L. syntax. Continuous interlinear glosses are especially frequently found in psalters (cf. Pulsiano 2001), but they are also known from other texts, such as BOETHIUS, *De consolazione philosophiae* or BENEDICT's *Regula*. So far, no dry-point glosses have been discovered in the context of continuous glosses. It may well be that dry-point writing was never used for this purpose.<sup>4</sup>

A third setting, the glossary, represents the abstraction of the occasional or continuous OE glosses from the context of the original L. text. The "Épinal Glossary", which is dated to AD 700 (cf. Bischoff et al. 1988: 13), shows that from an early date both L. and vernacular glosses were culled from occasionally or continuously glossed Anglo-Saxon MSS and compiled in lists of lemma/interpretamentum pairs. These glossaries must have been reworked repeatedly, presumably to improve their usability as reference books (cf. Lendinara 1999b: 207). In some glossaries, we can still see the original order in which they were culled from the base text, forming so-called "batches". In others, so-called "alphabetical glossaries", the lemmata are sorted according to their first letter or first few letters, which probably indicates that an existing glossary was reworked by culling in succession all glosses whose first letters matched the right combination.<sup>5</sup> In a third group of glossaries, the so-called "class glossaries", the lemmata from a semantic field were arranged as groups of glosses. This may have been useful for teaching purposes. Class glossaries do not seem particularly apt to serve as reference books, because the reader would have to know the word field of a particular word before he would be able to look it up in a class glossary.

No OE dry-point glosses have been discovered in the context of glossaries. There is some evidence from OHG glossography, though, that dry-point glosses were added as occasional supplements to existing glossaries in rare instances. Therefore glossaries should not be ruled out categorically as candidates for further dry-point finds, but there is no evidence at the moment that the use of dry-point writing was customary in Anglo-Saxon glossaries.

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4 For an interesting example of a dry-point correction to an OE word of the continuous interlinear gloss in the "Vespasian Psalter" (London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A. i [K:203]) cf. pp. 39–40 below.

5 The above-mentioned "Épinal Glossary" contains both types, namely parts that represent batches of glosses, which are listed in the order they were encountered in some unknown exemplar, and parts, in which the L. lemmata are ordered according to their first two letters, i.e. in so-called AB order (Ker 1957: 151–152).

### 2.1.3 The Form of Occasional Glosses in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts

In casual usage, the term “gloss” often only refers to the added L. or vernacular element itself. Typically, however, a gloss consists of two constituting elements: Firstly, the added piece of information itself, which is referred to as the *interpretamentum*, and secondly, the word or phrase of the L. text that is being commented on or translated by the *interpretamentum*, the so-called *lemma*. Both the *interpretamentum* and the *lemma* may consist of a single word form or a short phrase. Inked *interpretamenta* are often easily spotted, as they are usually placed above the line of the base text as an interlinear gloss or outside the text block in the margins of the MS page as a marginal gloss. The identification of the corresponding *lemma*, on the other hand, is not always straightforward: If the *interpretamentum* is added interlinearly, it is usually placed right above its *lemma*. However, if the *interpretamentum* is added marginally, the connection between the *interpretamentum* in the margin and the *lemma* in the text block is not always directly indicated by the physical proximity on the MS page. While marginal *interpretamenta* added to the inner or outer margin of the MS are often added at about the same height on the page as the line in which the *lemma* is to be found, *interpretamenta* placed in the top or bottom margin do not offer similar clues. It is sometimes possible to guess the corresponding *lemma* on account of semantic considerations (especially if the gloss represents a synonymous lexical gloss), but this is not directly possible if the attribution to several *lemmata* on the same page would make equal sense.

Marginal glosses can sometimes fall prey to the cutting of the book blocks during post-Anglo-Saxon re-binding of the codex. If the *interpretamenta* are not cut off completely, those in the left outer margin will lose letters at the beginning of the *interpretamentum* and those in the right outer margin will lose letters at the end of it, accordingly. *Interpretamenta* in the top and bottom margin may be cut in half, sometimes still allowing for educated guesses. Those in the inner margin are usually safe from such procedures; however, if the binding is very tight and the opposing page partly obstructs the view of the glosses, they can be difficult to autopsy.

Sometimes the reader is guided by so-called *signes-de-renvoi*, characteristic symbols made up of strokes and dots, which are added next to both the *interpretamentum* and the *lemma* to render their connection explicit. As far as I could establish, this has not yet been reported for OE dry-point glosses, though. *Signes-de-renvoi* are often not recorded in lexically orientated gloss editions since they do not convey any meaning of their own. However, from the point of view of more recent approaches to glossography, they should always be specified in editions.

In general dry-point glosses are not fundamentally different from their inked relatives. They, too can be added interlinearly or marginally with the same difficulties of association with the correct lemma of the L. base text. One property, however, that results from the manner in which they are added to the MSS, namely without ink, sets dry-point glosses off from ink glosses quite markedly.

## 2.2 Writing without Ink in Anglo-Saxon England

### 2.2.1 Stylus and Wax Tablets in Britain

The notion of hand-writing taking place without a colouring agent in the MS context would seem foreign from a modern perspective. While it is possible to apply dry-point writing to present-day paper, it is not a form of writing that we are accustomed to. Hence, most people will not take notice of dry-point writing on a piece of paper, unless it is pointed out to them explicitly. As a consequence, it is not readily clear to the modern mind why writing should take place without any pigment left behind on the page. Non-colouring writing implements have seen a revival ever since hand-held personal digital assistants started to be furnished regularly with plastic-tipped styli in the late 1990s. However, those styli were never intended to be used on paper. It can be assumed that the presence of the styli in the office world may have led to the spontaneous creation of such writing, and especially doodles, in isolated cases, but I am not familiar with any reported systematic use of non-colouring writing in the present era. In that respect, the medieval situation was markedly different. Bischoff (*BMS* 1: 88) points out that the medieval stylus had similar functions as today's pencil: it was used for taking notes by professionals and students alike, it was used for ruling the MS page and it was used by illuminators to make first draughts on the MS page. The main writing medium of the stylus, however, was not parchment, but wax.

Wax tablets were one of the many cultural imports introduced to Britain after the Roman invasion in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, and extant Romano-British wax tablets have been found in more than twenty archaeological sites throughout Britain so far, despite the fact that their organic material could only endure in favourable, i.e. water-logged, conditions.<sup>6</sup> Some of these finds are of remarkable size, such as those from Vindolanda, a Roman fort near Hadrian's Wall, where fragmentary and completely intact specimens of more than 1,400 writing tablets have been unearthed since the 1970s. Editions of the remaining legible text of more than 750 of these tablets have been published since the early 1980s (cf. most recently

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6 Cf. also John Pearce's "Progress Report" at the website "A Corpus of Writing-Tablets from Roman Britain." URL: <<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/RIB/RIBIV/jp5.htm>>.



in Bowman et al. 2010). There is no archaeological evidence that the writing tablet continued to be in use after the Romans withdrew from Great Britain in the 5<sup>th</sup> c., although the notion seems likely. Certainly after the re-establishment of Christianity in Great Britain, both from Ireland and the Continent, in the late 6<sup>th</sup> c., stylus and wax tablets must have been household items again, at least in the monastic context. The Rule of St Benedict, for instance, while condemning the personal possession of styli and wax-tablets (Ch. 33), places the abbots under the obligation to provide their brethren with stylus and wax-tablet (Ch. 55) – “*ut omnis auferatur necessitatis excusatio*” – that is in order to keep the monks from claiming that they were not able to do God’s service for lack of appropriate tools. It is reasonable to assume then that most monks, even those who did not adhere to Benedict’s Rule, either had styli on them at all times or did not have to look far to get hold of a stylus. The presence of styli in the scriptoria is also well-established by their manifest use in the process of preparing the MS page for later writing, and the details of pricking and ruling (commonly in dry-point) are usually studied with great care by codicologists.

The active use of the stylus must have been familiar to all literate members of an Anglo-Saxon monastic institution, as their first writing lessons were confined to the use of the writing tablet during their trivium studies (cf. Savage 2006 [1911]: 63–64; Brown 1994; Brown 2008: 179). The use of stylus and wax tablet is well documented in Anglo-Saxon and early Irish literature, too (cf. Wattenbach 1896: 51–89 and Fisher 1921: 194). ALDHELM, for instance, composed a riddlic poem on the wax tablet around AD 700, from which we can gather the interesting information that the tablets were commonly bound in leather.<sup>7</sup> The “Benedictional of St Æthelwold”, London, British Library Additional 49 598 [G:301], written in the late 10<sup>th</sup> c., features a miniature of Zechariah writing in a large wax tablet using a stylus (cf. Brown 1994: 9 [Fig. 6]).<sup>8</sup> And from Anselm’s (Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 until 1100) biographer EADMER, we know that it was Anselm’s custom to compose his treatises on wax tablets before they were committed to parchment (cf. Southern 1962: 30–31; Clanchy 1993: 119).

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7 The translation reads: ‘My origin was from (the wax of) honey-bees, but my other outer part grew in the woods. Stiff leather provided me with my shoes. Now the iron point cuts into my comely face with its wandering movements, and carves furrows in the manner of a plough; but the holy seed for the crop is brought from heaven, and it produces abundant sheaves from its thousand-fold harvest. Alas, this holy harvest is destroyed by fierce weapons!’ (translation by Lapidge & Rosier 1985: 76).

8 For the actual use of the stylus in the creation of the “Benedictional of St Æthelwold”, see below p. 51.

Archaeological finds from the Anglo-Saxon period attesting to the use of wax tablet and stylus are also numerous.<sup>9</sup> Styli, ranging in material from bone to silver, have been found in various archaeological contexts.<sup>10</sup> From the site of the former priory at Blythburgh in Suffolk, a fragment of a writing-tablet made from bone is preserved in the British Museum, dated to sec. viii. While the wax has perished, both the upper surface and the surface of the recess that contained the wax show runic letters, which are set in irregular rows. They are assumed to be “trial letter forms not intended to make much sense”, perhaps added by a person “attempting Latin verbal forms” (Webster & Backhouse 1991: 81 [no. 57]). The 14<sup>th</sup>-c. York Tablets (cf. Brown 1994), featuring both L. and ME writing in *anglicana cursive*, on the other hand, provide an example of physical evidence for the continued use of the wax tablet in the later phases of the Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup>

We find a very detailed 11<sup>th</sup>-c. French description of a wax tablet by BALDRICUS OF BOURGEUIL (edited in Mabillon 1709: 51), in which the wax tablet is said to accommodate about eight hexameters – with the wax tablet held in landscape orientation. The French author emphasizes the fact that his wax tablet features green wax, as opposed to black wax, to help his eyes. From this description Todd (1846: 10) concludes that black must have been the common colour of the wax.<sup>12</sup>

9 Incidentally, they are also well-attested from archaeological sites in Ireland. An early example of wax tablet usage in Ireland is provided by the Springmount Bog Tablets, dated to the 7th c. (Hillgarth 1962: 184 and Fig. 2), which still features early cursive Insular writing in the partly intact wax. A late example of an Irish wax tablet is provided by the Maghera Bog Tablet, dated to the 14th c. (Todd 1846, with facsimiles).

10 Webster & Backhouse (1991) list the following examples, each of them presented in a photograph: one copper-alloy stylus, sec. vii/viii, and two copper-alloy styli, sec. viii/ix, from Brandon (Suffolk) (86–87 [nos. 66 (r–t)]); an iron stylus, sec. viii, and two copper-alloy styli, sec. viii/ix from Barking (East London) (90 [nos. 67 (i–k)]); a silver stylus, sec. viii/ix, and a copper-alloy stylus, sec. viii/ix, from Flixborough (Lincolnshire) (100 [nos. 69 (v–w)]); two copper-alloy styli, sec. vii/viii, from Jarrow (Tyne and Wear) (140 [no. 105 (d)]); a copper-alloy and silver stylus, sec. vii/viii, a copper-alloy stylus, sec. viii, and a bone stylus, sec. viii/ix, from Whitby (North Yorkshire) (142–143 [nos. 107 (c–e)]); and two copper-alloy styli, sec. viii/ix from Bawsey (Norfolk) (231 [no. 188 (b–c)]). It is questionable whether the copper-alloy stylus, sec. viii, from Whitby (143 [no. 107 (d)]) really was used as a stylus, as it is comparatively narrow and suspiciously bent; Peers & Radford (1943: 64 [no. 76]) consider it to be an example of a group called “styliform” [hair] pins”, distinguished by the lack of intermediate mouldings, with “the flat head being used for parting the hair and for the application of pomade”. Peers & Radford (1943: 65 [Fig. 15]) show drawings of five bronze styli (nos. 80–84) and a flat bronze stylus head (no. 85), as well as a photograph of two of them (1943: plate XXVII (c) [nos. 80–81]), all of them from Whitby.

11 On wax tablets in the European Middle Ages, cf. also Büll (1977: 785–894) and Lalou (1992b).

12 An observation, which is also borne out by the list of late antique and medieval wax tablets presented in Büll (1977: 809–812).

What we can also conclude from BALDRICUS's description, however, is that notes written on a wax tablet were not generally considered easy to read. A few simple experiments I made with a modern-day replica of a Roman wax tablet could confirm the crucial role that light plays with regards to the legibility of the wax grooves.<sup>13</sup> The stylus does not leave easily visible traces in the dark wax, and Brown (1994: 1) describes her reading of the York Tablets as relying on "a battery of photographs taken under every conceivable angle of raking light." There is an interesting parallel to dry-point writing in that respect and the training acquired during the many years of experience learning to write on wax tablets and, perhaps more importantly, learning to read from wax tablets may well have schooled the medieval eye to cope more easily with dry-point writing in MSS.

There is evidence that the use of stylus and wax tablet continued to be widespread until early modern times both in the British Isles and on the European mainland. In France, for instance, wax tablets remained in active use at the fish market of Rouen until ca. 1862 (cf. Büll 1977: 786 and 845 [Ill. 619 and Ill. 620]).

### 2.2.2 Dry-Point Writing in Medieval Manuscripts

We do not know when the practice of writing in dry-point in MSS developed, but a number of Anglo-Saxon MSS are known to contain dry-point glosses in OE that are dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> c. In the case of the "Maihingen Gospels" [1/K:287\*], the dry-point glosses may perhaps even be dated to the first half of that century. With the "Épinal Glossary" marking the beginning of extant OE literacy in the MS context around AD 700 (cf. Bischoff et al. 1988: 13; Toon 1992: 427), we can assume that dry-point writing was part of vernacular literate culture from an early date on.

Dry-point glosses form a sub-group within the wider field of glosses and they are set apart from other glosses only by the manner in which they were physically entered on the writing medium. In medieval MSS – as well as in the case of most present-day writing that we encounter on a daily basis – writing usually consists of letters that are formed on a suitable writing surface by depositing coloured particles. The most common agent that was used to apply such particles to the parchment surface of Anglo-Saxon MSS was ink, a water-based suspension of ground carbon or iron salts, which was applied by means of a quill by a trained scribe. After the water had evaporated, the dark-coloured particles remained in place and allowed the reader to distinguish the individual

13 The replica of a Roman wax tablet is produced by the sheltered workshop "Samariterstift" in Neresheim (D), product line "NASEWEISS". Their "Römisches Schreiftäfelchen" measures 120×70×12 mm, is equipped with black wax and accompanied by a pointed brass stylus. URL: <<http://www.naseweiss-spiele.de>>.

letter forms by forming a strong contrast with the surrounding pale yellowish parchment.

In dry-point writing no such colouring particles are deposited on the parchment, instead the letters are formed by deforming or bruising the parchment surface by means of a stylus or some other non-colouring hand-held device, such as an awl or a knife. Glosses written in this fashion are sometimes referred to as “scratched glosses”<sup>14</sup> or “stylus glosses”,<sup>15</sup> but the majority of the publications concerned with the topic prefers “dry-point glosses”. It can be argued that the term “dry-point gloss” is more precise than the other two in that the term “stylus gloss” implies that dry-point writing could only be created by means of a stylus, but there is the possibility that other handheld objects (e.g. knives) may have been in use as well for the same purpose, and the term “scratched glosses” in turn implies that the deformation left behind by the writing instrument always consists of a “scratch” – that is a tear or rupture of some kind. As Nievergelt (2007: 48) and Ernst (2007: 52), however, convincingly argue with regard to OHG dry-point writing, it is useful and necessary to distinguish between dry-point writing that consists of a mere indentation of the parchment surface and dry-point writing that effectively tears the uppermost layers of the parchment surface apart. The neutral term “dry-point gloss” seems to be the lowest common denominator by merely stating that some sort of pointy writing utensil was used that did not leave any visible deposit on the parchment surface, but merely a three-dimensional change in the parchment itself.<sup>16</sup>

Bearing in mind how common the use of the stylus must have been in the monastic context – with the stylus both in use as a wax tablet writing instrument and a MS preparation tool – the stylus is admittedly the most likely candidate responsible for the extant dry-point writing that we know of. Since the material used in the fabrication of Anglo-Saxon styli ranges from relatively soft materials (such as ivory or bone) to rather hard materials (such as iron and brass) the impressions left behind by the various writing implements do not constitute a visually uniform appearance. Moreover, in addition to the stylus, other pointy or sharp utensils could potentially have been used for writing – such as awls (used for punching the prick-marks), quill-knives (used for preparation and repair of

14 It is predominantly the older literature that seems to prefer the term “scratched glosses”, but it remains a common alternative: cf. Napier (1900), Meritt (e.g. 1933), Page (e.g. 1973), Morrison (1987), Gwara (1997a).

15 Perhaps sometimes in imitation of German Griffelglossen [Griffel = stylus]; only rarely even “dry-stylus glosses” (e.g. Falileyev 2006: 576).

16 In hyphenating the term “dry-point” I follow Toon (1991), Rusche (1994), Schipper (1994), Ó Néill (1998), Falileyev & Russell (2003) and others as well as the OED (s.v. “dry-point”), but other spellings such as “drypoint” (cf. Gwara 1996b) and “dry point” (cf. Meritt 1961) are found in the literature, too.

the writing quills) and pen-knives (used for all kinds of everyday and MS-related purposes). Meritt (1945: viii) already points out that dry-point glosses could be classified into two groups, namely “those in which the point of the writing implement merely indented the surface of the parchment and those in which it tore the parchment.” Thus, a detailed characterization of the dry-point writing becomes an important tool for the dry-point gloss researcher.

Nievergelt (2007: 47–60), working on OHG dry-point material, presents a classification based on the physical properties of writing in MSS that allows for a differentiated categorization by taking the various types of dry-point writing into account, too. His most basic distinction is that between conventional ink or pencil writing, on the one hand, and dry-point writing, on the other hand; that is between writing that consists of some sort of discolouration of the MS surface (termed type “A”) and writing that merely deforms the MS surface three-dimensionally without any residue of a colouring agent (termed type “B”). In addition to these two broad categories, he defines a third group that shows both characteristics (termed type “AB”), both discolouring and deforming the MS surface. Deformational writing (i.e. type “B”) can be distinguished further according to the physical property of the dry-point writing utensils. Cutting tools and sharp styli will tend to cut the parchment surface (termed type “B.1” in Nievergelt’s taxonomy) and blunt styli will tend to deform the parchment surface without cutting it (termed type “B.2”). Dry-point traces left behind by different writing utensils often show markedly different visual characteristics. Ernst (2007: 52) suggests that glosses that are easily visible to the naked eye are usually of the cutting type (i.e. type “B.1”), while the deforming type (“B.2”) often requires beneficial lighting conditions for the writing to be set off visually on the parchment surface.

Nievergelt (2007: 47–59) convincingly shows that we have to understand dry-point writing as a tiny yet three-dimensional object in the semi-soft parchment surface. This three-dimensional object can have a range of optical properties depending on the nature of the deformation it represents. A tiny ridge may or may not be formed along the movement of the indentation, depending on the pressure applied by the writer, on the physical properties of the parchment itself and on the sharpness of the writing implement. By using an appropriate light source held at the right angle, the upper parts of the grooves created by the stylus or the knife may cast a tiny shadow onto the surrounding parchment and thus offer the eye a visible object, whereas diffuse light tends to blur out the edges and effectively prevents the eye from perceiving individual letter forms. Some dry-point glosses are even on the verge of being invisible in normal light conditions that one encounters in the library reading rooms. Especially type “B.2” writing offers very little contrasting contours in diffuse light and since the

visibility of dry-point glosses depends so heavily on the nature of the deformation or the physical tearing of the writing surface by the writing implement, there is no single-best way to make dry-point writing visible on the MS surface. While some dry-point glosses are easily visible in normal, ambient light, others can only be detected during careful autopsy of the MS surface with changing light angles.

Unfortunately, researchers working in a typical MS reading room are rather limited in their possibilities to change the angle of the incident light. For practical and conservational reasons the MSS have to rest firmly on the designated foam wedges. Holding a weak, yet focussed electric torch in one hand and wielding it carefully around the MS surface at a low angle often produces a considerable improvement in the legibility of dry-point writing. However, the diffuse artificial light of the reading room can interfere disadvantageously with the light emitted by the handheld torch. Depending on the reading room, it may then be helpful to find a spot near a natural daylight window or to find a comparatively dark corner of the room where the adverse artificial light is the least disruptive. Dry-point glosses that are added to the inner margin of the MS page often turn out to be especially difficult to autopsy, because the researcher is limited in modifying the incidence of light during decipherment due to the physical obstruction presented by the opposing MS page. Dry-point writing in the inner margin of MSS is therefore even more likely to go unnoticed (cf. Nievergelt 2007: 76–78).

The sketchiness of our understanding of OE dry-point glossing has also been severely aggravated by the fact that dry-point writing is usually not readily visible during casual perusal of a MS. Unless a researcher specifically looks out for dry-point writing, there is a good chance that most of the dry-point writing will go unnoticed. The strong contrast offered by ink writing automatically causes the human perception to mask out less extreme contours. As soon as researchers are prepared to see dry-point writing and know what to expect visually, chances of seeing such material increase dramatically.

### 2.2.3 Deformational Writing Outside the Manuscript Context

Outside the MS context, a sizable corpus of deformational writing from the Anglo-Saxon period has come down to us in the form of inscriptions. Both letters of the Roman alphabet and runes were carved into physical objects made of rock, metal, bone or wood throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>17</sup> However,

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17 For Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions, cf. Page (1999), Marquardt (1961) and Olsen (1954). For Anglo-Saxon non-runic inscriptions, cf. Okasha (1971, 1983, 1992 and 2004).

I have not been able to establish a direct link between that type of epigraphic deformational writing and dry-point writing in Anglo-Saxon MSS. An indirect reflex of the Anglo-Saxon practice of inscribing runic letters onto objects may be present in runic dry-point additions to Anglo-Saxon MSS, though. It is striking to see that a number of dry-point additions from different Anglo-Saxon MSS are in fact composed of runes (cf. below). It is conceivable that at least some of these short inscriptions may have been added in imitation of the Anglo-Saxon practice of inscribing objects in runes, especially since several of the MS specimens seem to represent personal names, which is reminiscent of a whole number of Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions, such as the Hartlepool name-stones, the Chester-le-Street stone or the Thames scramasax, in which personal names are added without any explicit description of the role that the named person plays with respect to the object itself (cf. Page 1999: 50, 58 and 113). It is to be hoped that further discoveries of similar runic entries in Anglo-Saxon MSS will allow us to arrive at a clearer picture of this phenomenon; for OHG dry-point runic writing in continental MSS, see Nievergelt (2011a).

An interesting example of Insular deformational writing outside MSS, whose purpose was probably not epigraphic but veritably practical, is presented by the Derrynaflan Paten inscriptions (cf. Brown 1993). The Derrynaflan Paten – a large decorated silver dish used for holding the bread in eucharistic services – was found during metal-detecting activities at the ecclesiastical site of Derrynaflan, County Tipperary (IE) in 1980. It forms part of a hoard of valuable liturgical metalwork, now kept in the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. During conservation works on the Paten, a series of half-uncial letters was discovered on the rim, on the rivet-stud cups and on the frames carrying the filigree panels set upon the rim. They are believed to have served as assembly marks for the 8<sup>th</sup>-c. artisan or artisans that built it. Interestingly, the lettering on the rim and on the (remaining) rivet-stud cups match, but the letters on the frames “do not conform in a straightforward fashion, entailing ambiguity as to the proposed original assembly” (Brown 1993: 162). A detailed palaeographical analysis of the letter forms allowed for a dating to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. Surprisingly, the rim also features a tiny L. inscription, which is only approximately 1 mm high. Brown (1993: 165) assumes that “[t]he scribe must, presumably, have been working blind at that scale”, but the writing even features wedges, giving the minute inscription a “degree of formality”. Brown’s reading is only partly successful and the microscopic enlargements that she provides (Brown 1993: 166) make one wonder whether the inscription was ever intended to be read; she decipheres *omne et ig(itur)* or *omne et g(ratia)* and *O creator ... n ... omnium*. Brown (1993: 165) finds some parallels in *Bald’s Leechbook* and in *Lacnunga*, where the writing of religious texts on patens is advised in spells against “fever”, “elfin



tricks” and “temptations of the devil”, respectively. If the Derrynaflan Paten inscriptions are considered in this context, the legibility of the inscription may not have been considered necessary by the scribe; instead, the spiritual gesture alone may have served his or her purpose. Apart from two photographic details of the L. inscription, Brown (1993: 166) supplies a hand-drawn facsimile of the L. inscription as well as hand-drawn facsimiles of the letter forms and symbols found on the rim, the frames and the cups (Brown 1993: 162–163).

#### 2.2.4 Ink, Pencil, Dry-Point

The extant amount of dry-point writing in Anglo-Saxon MSS that we know of clearly indicates that dry-point writing enjoyed a different status than ink writing in Anglo-Saxon England. No passages of any sizeable length in dry-point writing have been discovered so far in Anglo-Saxon MSS. The only sizeable amount of dry-point writing that we know from medieval MSS can be associated with the practice of glossing L. texts in L. or in a vernacular language. However, even in this context, dry-point writing clearly is not used to the same extent as ordinary ink writing: Even the MSS with the largest number of edited dry-point glosses feature no more than ca. 600 dry-point glosses, while some Anglo-Saxon MSS feature more than 5,000 OE ink glosses and many thousand L. ink glosses on top of that. Clearly, dry-point writing was the exception, writing in ink the rule.

Motivations behind dry-point writing remain something of a puzzle: Why should glossators choose to write without ink and produce writing that is so difficult to see? As pointed out above, there is no documented example of a continuous OE gloss in dry-point, nor are there examples of glossaries written in dry-point. The observation that dry-point writing in connection with OE glosses was restricted to the domain of the occasional gloss points to the possibility that glossing in dry-point may have been more of a spontaneous activity whereas a dedicated or planned activity, such as writing a continuous interlinear gloss or a glossary, would by default have been carried out in ink. Since our knowledge of dry-point writing is still highly incomplete, however, we have to be careful about drawing too general conclusions as long as we cannot even estimate what fraction of the overall picture we have uncovered so far.

It has been argued that dry-point writing may have been employed to preserve the neatness of the costly MSS, e.g. in the “Maihingen Gospels” [1/K:287\*], produced in 8<sup>th</sup>-c. Echternach:

Bei der Lektüre einzelner lateinischer Passagen müssen Echternacher Mönche auf sprachliche Schwierigkeiten gestoßen sein. Um sich den Sinn dieser Stellen besser



einprägen zu können, taten sie, was auch heute noch jeder Schüler tun würde: sie schrieben die Übersetzung schwieriger Ausdrücke in ihrer Muttersprache unauffällig in das Buch hinein. Da sie sich scheuten, den kunstvoll kalligraphierten und überdies als heilig betrachteten Text durch ihre Zutaten zu entweihen, nahmen sie den Griffel und ritzten die Wörter als Blindglossen unmerklich in das Pergament ein. (Schroeder 1979b: 397)<sup>18</sup>

If so, the preference of the stylus over the quill would have been motivated by the great respect that the glossators had for the aesthetic integrity of the written L. text. A similar interpretation is discernible in Meyer (1966: 224): “als Beschreibstoff diente der Griffel auch [...] zum Eintrag von Notizen u[nd] Glossen, die nicht besonders hervortreten sollten”,<sup>19</sup> or in Graham (2009: 17): “Possibly the drypoint glossator sought to avoid having the gloss interfere with or distract attention from the main text, as an ink gloss might.” In opposition to such conclusions, Rusche (1994: 196) argues that “this is refuted by the prevalence of ink glossing in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, even those considered works of art such as the Lindisfarne Gospels.” Rusche’s observation is correct, insofar as Aldred’s glossing of the “Lindisfarne Gospels”[K:165] was indeed carried out boldly in ink. However, we must be careful when we consider Anglo-Saxon motivations, as they are not readily available and understandable to us. What may be one monk’s conviction in 8<sup>th</sup>-c. Echternach does not have to be shared by Aldred in 10<sup>th</sup>-c. Durham. It must be assumed that Aldred deliberately added his continuous OE gloss in ink, as he was most definitely convinced that he proceeded with God’s and St Cuthbert’s approval, as he states in his colophon: “ȝ Aldred presbyter indignus et miserrimus mið godes fultu[m] ȝ sancti cuðberhtes hit of glóesade ón englisc.”<sup>20</sup> Aldred’s glossing in ink, however, cannot be taken as evidence for the attitude of every Anglo-Saxon glossator from the 8<sup>th</sup> through to the 11<sup>th</sup> c., either. It may well be that in some cases considerations of concealment really played a role when writing in dry-point, but it would have to be argued for individual gloss hands in individual MSS.

18 I.e. ‘While reading individual passages in Latin, the monks of Echternach must have chanced upon linguistic difficulties. In order to memorize these passages more easily, they did what every student would do even today: they added the translation of difficult expressions inconspicuously to the book in their native tongue. Since they were afraid of desecrating – with their additions – the artfully calligraphed text that was considered divine, they took the stylus and scratched the words as dry-point glosses unnoticeably into the parchment.’

19 I.e. ‘The stylus also served as a writing utensil to enter notes and glosses that were not supposed to stand out particularly.’

20 Quoted from Nees (2003: 341); i.e. ‘And Aldred, unworthy and most miserable priest, glossed it in English with the help of God and St Cuthbert’ (Nees’s translation).

Another strand of argument is centred on practical considerations. The mere availability of the stylus as a writing implement may have been reason enough to use it in a MS context, too, even if it was not as easily readable as ink, or as Page puts it: “In a society where ink was not readily available, it was easier to make notes with dry-point” (2001: 241). Rusche suggests that dry-point writing perhaps predominantly took place outside the scriptorium (where quill and ink would have been ready to use):

Ink was neither rare nor expensive in the Middle Ages, but it had to be mixed before use, and any surplus would soon dry out. Also necessary was an inkhorn or some other vessel to hold the ink, a quill and a knife for sharpening the nib. While these materials were readily available in the scriptorium, a monk in another part of the monastery, such as the library, classroom or cell, had to rely on the only writing instruments that were always at hand: a wax tablet and a stylus. (Rusche 1994: 196)

This is an interesting thought experiment and I cannot think of a way to falsify the ideas behind it, but there is no way to corroborate them, either. We do not know when and where dry-point glossing was practiced during the daily routine of the monastery. We also do not know what the profile of the typical dry-point glossator might have been. Rusche surmises that the predominance of lexical dry-point glosses might be in line with a student “struggling to understand the Latin text” (1994: 199). The hypothesis that practical notions may have played a role in the choice of the stylus as writing implement seems plausible to me, yet the extant corpus of dry-point glosses would have to be investigated carefully for patterns of functional tendencies in the extant dry-point glossing first. Studies that consistently classify a specific corpus of dry-point glosses according to functional criteria remain yet to be published.

A model for such functional criteria is presented by Richter (1996: liv–lv) who classifies the OE ink glosses of London, British Library Royal 6. B. vii [K:255] according to an elaborate functional scheme, allowing him to draw conclusions about the status of the MS as a library copy, rather than a classroom book. It would surely be interesting to apply such functional criteria to dry-point gloss MSS to fathom to what extent the functional “profiles” of the glossing differs firstly between the MSS, secondly between the glossing hands and thirdly between ink and dry-point glosses.

Such profiles would have to take L. glossing into consideration, too, though, as Gwara (1999: 822) convincingly argues, and he therefore finds fault with Richter’s study that seemingly ignores the presence of thousands of L. glosses besides the 502 OE glosses in the same MS. Vernacular glossing did not take place in a vacuum; rather, it was an additional layer of annotation in a particular MS that hence must always be studied in its immediate context. Especially

so, since Richter tries to show that the difficulty of L. words does not correlate with their likelihood of being glossed in OE. He provides an example of such an arguably “easy” item of L. vocabulary in the word L. *frigidus* glossed with OE *cól*,<sup>21</sup> and he observes that other (unfortunately unspecified) “difficult” items remain unglossed (Richter 1994: lxi). Deciding which L. words would be considered as “difficult” and which ones as “easy” by an Anglo-Saxon readership is a precarious enterprise in itself. If we think of the situation in which the particular items of OE glossing were added, however, it is beyond doubt that the presence of L. glosses in the MS surely would have influenced the necessity for further glossing. Hence, that context has to be taken into consideration, too. If we look at the passage surrounding the L. word *frigidus* in London, British Library Royal 6. B. vii [K:255], f. 46<sup>r</sup> we find the surrounding passage to be glossed quite frequently in L.:

sed et [gl.: s. anatolia] marsum [gl.: galdor], qui uirulentos natrices [gl.: i. serpents] ad sacrae uirginis laesionem incantationum [gl.: galdra] carminibus irritabat [gl.: prouocabat] – ut poeta ait: ‘Frigidus [gl. (OE): *cól*] in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis [gl. (OE): *næddre*]’ – diris spiris [gl.: i. nexibus] inuolutum perniciter eripuit. (cf. Gwara 2001b: 696–697)

The addition of the two OE ink glosses happened in this heavily glossed surroundings and it is important to note that the two glosses are part of the same noun phrase, quoted from Vergil’s Eclogue VIII, 71: “In the meadows the *cold snake* is burst by incantation.” Ignoring the thousands of L. glosses that surround the OE glosses and ignoring the details of the L. text in the assessment of the OE glossing, then, makes all statements about the function of an individual gloss that is added in the middle of a heavily glossed text tenuous, at best. Here, I think, it can be argued that the comparatively easy L. word *frigidus* was glossed because it forms a noun phrase with the far-away and much less “easy” L. word *anguis*, which happens to be glossed in three other MSS of the same text, too (if this can be taken as an indicator of difficulty).

As far as I know, no functional studies have been carried out on OE dry-point glosses. Where the function of dry-point glosses (as opposed to ink glosses) is concerned, questions about the visibility and, more importantly, legibility of dry-point glosses back in the Anglo-Saxon period have to be addressed, too. Rusche thinks that the difficult visual appearance was inherent in the manner of writing without ink: “Scratched glosses were probably no easier to read when they were first made than they are now” (1994: 195). Page, though, expresses some doubts about this assumption:

21 Gloss no. 418 in Richter’s (1996: 100) edition.

I suspect that comparatively modern binding methods, where the book is put in a press to secure it firmly, could well have evened out depressions in a parchment surface. I have no evidence for it; only a general knowledge of what earlier modern binders might do in the interests of neatness rather than of scholarship. And of course very few Anglo-Saxon manuscripts retain early bindings. Further, any centuries of variations in temperature and humidity could have affected the characteristic detail of a parchment surface. (Page 2001: 221)

The bookbinders' interests of neatness that Page refers to are well attested by codices whose margins have been cut off to form a perfectly even body of the book, sometimes even accepting loss of text or illuminations (let alone marginal glosses). It is easily possible that the compression applied during binding would have had a detrimental effect on the microscopic structures that had been produced by the dry-point writing. Jakobi-Mirwald (1993: 19a) reports that the dry-point glosses in Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Bonifatianus 2 [12/K:A41] have become "kaum noch verifizierbar"<sup>22</sup> after the MS was restored in 1978; although she does not explicitly state what procedures were applied in the restoration process, it can be assumed that pressing may have been involved. Moreover, parchment, being an organic fabric, reacts quite markedly to humidity by swelling up and to extreme dryness by becoming warped and stiff. As far as I know, no scientific experiments considering the influence of such processes on dry-point writing have been carried out.<sup>23</sup>

Even if Page's suspicion that dry-point writing deteriorates over time should turn out to be right, it is still quite certain that dry-point writing was not perfectly visible, even in Anglo-Saxon times. The ambient lighting situation must have played an important role back in the day, just as much as it does in the 21<sup>st</sup> c.<sup>24</sup> It may be safely assumed, though, that the Anglo-Saxon reader would

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22 I.e. 'barely verifiable anymore'.

23 It goes without saying that such experiments would have to be carried out with modern stand-in MSS, produced in a similar fashion to Anglo-Saxon exemplars. Some primitive tests that I carried out with dry-point writing in modern paper books and in a pile of artisan parchment did not reveal a detrimental effect of pressing on dry-point readability, however it is easily possible that similar experiments on parchment would yield a different result.

24 To demonstrate this point at ISAS 2013 in Dublin, I added an admittedly nonsensical dry-point gloss <þ> above the word "Isidore" in the entry for [12/K:A41] to each of the 200 copies of the Handlist of MSS known to contain OE dry-point glosses that I handed out to the members of the audience. At the end of my talk, I invited the audience to look for the dry-point gloss, knowing perfectly well that the dry-point writing would turn out to be virtually invisible in the artificially lit auditorium. The gloss was, however, (and still is on the left-over copies that I have) plainly visible to the naked eye, whenever the Handlist is inspected in natural daylight.

perhaps at least sometimes have been at liberty to choose a suitable seat to allow the daylight to shine benevolently on the MS page at the right angle. Such liberties can often no longer be taken by the modern researcher, as in most present-day repositories the workstations for the study of medieval MSS are clearly demarcated; whether the ambient light happens to be right thus becomes mainly a matter of coincidence. Whoever entered the dry-point writing in medieval times, though, must have been working on the MS in a suitable spot, as it does not seem plausible that dry-point writing would have been employed, had it not been plainly legible at the moment of writing.

Clanchy raises the interesting point that medieval ink writing may have been an activity restricted to the warmer parts of the year in connection with two accounts by the 11<sup>th</sup>-c. Anglo-Norman chronicler ORDERICUS VITALIS (Clanchy 1993: 116 and 119). In one instance, ORDERICUS interestingly relates that he wanted to make a copy of a life of St William when he was in Winchester in wintertime, but “the winter cold prevented [him] from writing”, so he made “a full accurate abbreviation on tablets” (quoted from Clanchy 1993: 119). If this was not only a peculiarity of ORDERICUS’s writing habits, but represents a general, positive medieval attitude towards stylus writing during inclement temperatures, it is at least imaginable that dry-point glossing may have been a practical alternative to ink glossing during the cold season, too. If so, dry-point glossing may have been practiced in wintertime especially frequently, but I cannot think of a way how to validate this interesting proposition.

The stylus was not the only alternative to quill and ink in Anglo-Saxon MSS: Pencils, for instance, were also used in the ruling of late Anglo-Saxon MSS. However, their use for that purpose became only widespread towards the very end of the Anglo-Saxon period (cf. Ker 1957: xxiv–xxv). Pencil writing is rather the exception in Anglo-Saxon MSS, too, but from four MSS with OE dry-point glosses, pencil writing is reported:

- Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40] features OE glosses in ink and in dry-point. Ker (1957: 59) mentions that some of the glosses are entered in pencil, too, but neither Meritt (1936, 1945) nor Page (1973, 1979, 1982) mention this manner of entry. Page (1973: 210) notes: “Some [glosses] are in ink, some dry-point, and the two often overlap.” Perhaps that “overlap” is in fact pencil writing (see below).
- Cambridge, CCC 223 [5/K:52] features OE glosses in ink, dry-point and pencil. Based on Meritt’s description of the pencil writing (“a coloring matter which is now a faint purple”, 1945: 28), the actual deposit could either consist

of coloured chalk – similar to the deposit created by a present-day crayon – or perhaps minium.<sup>25</sup>

- Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21 [11/K:24] is reported to feature the words *byrnstan beoffan sunu ælfnoð ælrices sunu æt hrocanlea* written twice, once in sprawling pencil, and once in ink, on the originally blank leaf at the end of the last quire of the MS (Ker 1957: 37).
- London, BL Additional 40 000 [15/K:131] may perhaps feature some glosses in faded pencil writing, as mentioned by Ker (1957: 163), but there is no mention of pencilling in Meritt's (1961: 42 [no. 4]) edition.

Similar to dry-point glosses, OE pencil glosses have not yet been studied in detail, but they do not seem to be nearly as common as dry-point glosses.<sup>26</sup> If pencil or crayon glosses fade or smudge, they may, however, sometimes leave a dry-point like appearance behind and hence may erroneously be identified as “pale” ink glosses. Consequently, they are perhaps often not distinguished correctly from dry-point glosses in the literature.<sup>27</sup> Further research, focussing specifically on the physical properties of pencil and dry-point writing, is called for.<sup>28</sup>

25 In the digital facsimile available from “Parker Library on the web”, both the pencil and the dry-point glosses are virtually invisible (cf. n. 4 on p. 111).

26 I could not find any other reports of OE pencil glosses in Ker (1957) or Vaciago (1993), but other examples of pencil writing are listed from a small number of medieval English MSS: In Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 340 [K:309] <E> of OE *Eft* is corrected to <O> in red pencil (Ker 1957: 363); this may have been entered in Anglo-Saxon times, but it may also have been added in the early modern era, as several early MS collectors annotated and paginated their Anglo-Saxon MSS in red pencil (cf. Ker 1957: xl and liii). However, in its accompanying volume – Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 342 [K:309] – a part of an OE homily, sec. xi<sup>1</sup>, is written in ink on top of pencil writing (Ker 1957: 367). Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. 4 [K:27], Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302 [K:56], London, British Library Arundel 60 [K:134], London, British Library Harley 376 [K: 240], Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 116 [K:333] and Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 509 [K:344] feature post-Anglo-Saxon ME and L. marginal pencil additions, sec. xiii–xiv (cf. Ker 1957: 28, 66–67, 96, 313, 403 and 422).

27 Vaciago (1993: 6–7 [no. 19]), for instance, does not mention the fact that some of the glosses in Cambridge CCC 223 [5/K:52] are entered in pencil; Ker's observation that the glosses in London, BL Additional 40 000 [15/K:131] might have been entered in pencil is also not included (1993: 13 [no. 51]). For a seminal overview of OHG pencil glossing, cf. Nievergelt (2009a: 233–234), who lists 17 OHG pencil gloss MSS. Incidentally, German glossographic terminology distinguishes “Schwarzstift”, “Braunstift” and “Rötel” (perhaps best translated as ‘black crayon’, ‘brown crayon’, and ‘minium’) and refers to them as the group of “Farbstifte” (i.e. ‘coloured pencils’).

28 Perhaps, some of the dry-point compilation notes that Schipper (1994) discusses were entered by means of something other than a mere stylus, too (see below, p. 51).

## 2.3 Excluded Dry-Point Material from Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts

Some Anglo-Saxon MSS feature additions in dry-point that are very interesting in their own particular way, yet the MSS will not be considered as OE dry-point gloss MSS in the present study, because the additions do not consist of OE glosses as outlined above. The dry-point additions may be made up of non-linguistic material, they may consist of names or non-commentarial additions, they may consist of textual emendations to an OE text, or the linguistic status of the gloss material cannot be identified as OE for certain.

### 2.3.1 Dry-Point “Marks” and Dry-Point “Doodles”

Two dry-point features that are quite common in Anglo-Saxon MSS are simple “marks” – both interlinear and marginal – and “doodles” – mainly in the margins. The broad category of marks can take on various forms (like those of similar marks in ink), such as acute or grave accents added for prosodic purposes or simple crosses, sometimes perhaps serving the same functions as present-day Post-it® slips, namely marking passages that were of some importance or passages where the reader stopped and wanted to continue his reading later on. It may well be that such marks were entered in dry-point in order to leave the visual appearance of the MS intact, but it may just as well have been the case that the stylus was simply at hand and accordingly the marks were added in dry-point for practical reasons. Such marks in dry-point are often not mentioned in editions and MS catalogues, and their study – and hence our documented knowledge of them – is restricted to individual MSS.<sup>29</sup>

The other common dry-point element in Anglo-Saxon MSS is “doodles” – often small, sometimes largish drawings, executed in dry-point, most often found in MS margins.<sup>30</sup> They feature all kinds of motifs, sometimes related to the text next to it, sometimes (at least seemingly) unrelated, but – like dry-point glosses – they generally do not show well on photographic facsimiles,<sup>31</sup>

29 Cf. Wieland (1983) for Cambridge, University Library MS Gg. 5. 35 [K:16] and Stork (1990) for London, British Library Royal 12. C. xxiii [K:263].

30 London, British Library Cotton Vitellius A. xix [K:217] provides an example of such a drawing in non-marginal position: A dry-point figure, perhaps representing St Cuthbert, is placed in a coloured panel of f. 8<sup>v</sup>, which may have initially been intended as background for an incipit for the ensuing *Vita Cuthberti*; cf. Nees (2003: 360, n. 96) for a detailed description.

31 Pictures can be taken successfully, though, by making use of grazing light; cf. Clemens & Graham (2007: 45 [Fig. 3–23]) for a photo of a marginal dry-point drawing from a 12th-c. German Cistercian missal (Newberry Library MS 7, f. 95r).

so their documentation is often restricted to hand-drawn copies.<sup>32</sup> Similar to dry-point glosses, dry-point doodles are outshone by ink and colour specimens, which lend themselves more easily to art historians' interests. Neither dry-point marks nor dry-point doodles feature OE language material; hence, they are not discussed here.

### 2.3.2 Dry-Point Names and Non-Gloss Entries

Sometimes we find names scratched into MSS that may have been meant to state either the owner or perhaps merely the reader of the document at hand, but no discernible connection can be established between the main text of the MS and the names that are entered. Lichfield, Cathedral Library Lich. 1 [G:269] (also known as the "Gospels of St Chad") provides a documented example of a MS in which 8 (perhaps 9) names are added in dry-point to the margins and to empty spots.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, six of the names also form part of a long list of names added – presumably as a *liber vitae* – in ink to p. 141 of the same MS. Charles-Edwards & McKee (2008: 87) suggest that the writers of the names "wished to mark a personal link with the manuscript", though it is not clear if the dry-point entries pre- or post-date the ink entries. In any case, these dry-point entries do not constitute an identifiable comment on the base text per se. Of course, it is no coincidence that the MS contains the *Gospels* and it was certainly the high status of the MS that ultimately led to its use as a *liber vitae*; however, adding the names was definitely not meant to be a comment of any kind on the text. The dry-point material of the Lichfield Gospels can be visualized in an interesting fashion on the website of the 'Lichfield Cathedral Imaging Project'.<sup>34</sup>

Such entries give interesting codicological and palaeographical cues for a MS's history and it seems likely that dry-point additions of this kind may be discovered in further MSS in the future. They partly touch on the subject of dry-point glossing as they are also evidence for the use of styli as writing instruments in the MS context, but their MSS will not be included in the *Catalogue* presented below, as they do not qualify as glosses as outlined above.

CLA (2: 257) reports letters in dry-point that probably represent an Anglo-Saxon name inscribed in Oxford, Bodleian Library Selden Supra 30 [G:665]: "the letters EADB and +E+ cut with a stylus on page 47 may refer to Eadburga, Abbess of Minster († 751)". Hence, the inscription may be seen as evidence that

32 Cf. Pulsiano (2002) for some very interesting examples.

33 An edition of the dry-point names, along with hand-drawn facsimiles of the names, is given in Charles-Edwards & McKee (2008: 81–82). The dry-point names are added on pp. 217, 221 and 226 of the MS.

34 URL: <<https://lichfield.ou.edu/st-chad-gospels/features>>.



the MS belonged to Minster-in-Thanel Abbey at some stage. The MS itself is written in uncials (cf. also Lowe 1960: 21), “probably in a Kentish centre, to judge by the script” (*CLA* 2: 257), sec. viii<sup>1</sup> and contains the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>35</sup>

Cambridge, CCC 57 [3/K:34] also features some dry-point writing that is considered to represent a name. It consists of runic letters, set in two lines in the margin of f. 30<sup>v</sup>, some of which may have been lost in the process of trimming. While the second line cannot be read with confidence, the first line is reported to spell out *auarþ*, which is considered to be the anglicised Scandinavian name “Hávarðr” (Graham 1996: 17). In addition to that, Cambridge, CCC 57 [3/K:34] also features 4 dry-point glosses to *SMARAGDUS*, *Diadema monachorum*, which is why the MS is included in the *Catalogue* below.<sup>36</sup>

Dry-point runes spelling out the name *Edelþryþ* are reported from St Petersburg, National Library of Russia F.v.I.8 [G:841] (also known as the “Codex Fossatensis”, sec. viii<sup>ex</sup> or ix<sup>in</sup>, originating perhaps from Northumbria). The inscription is placed between the columns of the final page of the Gospel of John on f. 213<sup>r</sup>.<sup>37</sup>

*CLA* (2: 183) reports a short entry in Insular dry-point writing on the lower margin of f. 41<sup>v</sup> of London, British Library Cotton Caligula A. xv [G:311], reading *liofric sacerð garulf leuita*, which can be translated as “the priest Leofric [and] the deacon Garulf”; *CLA* dates it sec. ix or x and takes it as evidence that the MS must have been in England by then – originating from north-eastern France, sec. viii<sup>2</sup>.

Small corrections to the base text or to glosses consisting of single letters are also sometimes executed in dry-point. London, British Library Cotton Vespa-

35 Anglo-Frisian runes in dry-point quoting the beginning of Psalm 1 in L. (*beatus uir qui non habit in consilio impiorum et in uia peccatorum*) are reported from f. 1<sup>r</sup> of Wolfenbüttel (D), Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 17 Weissenburg, which contains commentaries of the Psalms, sec. ix, 1<sup>st</sup> half (Düwel 1999: 40). They are barely visible (some of them even decipherable) along the top margin of f. 1<sup>r</sup> in the digital facsimile, publicly available from “Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Handschriftendatenbank”, URL: <<http://dbs.hab.de/mss/?list=ms&id=17-weiss>>. The MS was produced in Weissenburg Monastery (Alsace, F) and only left that location in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. when it became part of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (Butzmann 1964: 126–127). When and where the runes were added to f. 1<sup>r</sup> is unknown; an Anglo-Saxon background of the entry is not likely (except for the fact that the entry uses futhorc runes); however a Frisian background is not apparent, either.

36 See below p. 106 for further references.

37 Edition of the runic inscription, which features some exceptional runic characters, in Khlevov (2001), cf. also Houghton (2010: 115) and Kilpiö & Kahlas-Tarkka (2001: 41–44), who date the inscription sec. viii or ix; for the MS, cf. *CLA* (11: 1605), Gneuss (2001: 129 [no. 841]) and the bibliography provided by Kilpiö & Kahlas-Tarkka (2001: 44). Prof. Houghton of the University of Birmingham was so kind to send me a series of screenshots of Khlevov’s (2001) article, which was published on a CD-ROM and proved difficult to obtain.

sian A. i[K:203] (also known as the “Vespasian Psalter”), for instance, features a dry-point letter <t> added to the ink gloss OE *gas* ‘ghost, spirit’ (Pulsiano 2001: 737) glossing L. *spiritus* ‘ghost, spirit’ (Psalm 50:19). Such inconspicuous dry-point additions are not readily detected: It must be assumed that Sweet (1885: 258) did not notice the additional dry-point *t* and as a consequence marks the unusual form OE *gas* with an asterisk in his edition. While it can be argued that this *t* represents OE language material and hence constitutes an OE gloss (or at least part of it) in dry-point, I do not count this in as evidence of dry-point glossing activity in the “Vespasian Psalter”, but I think that this type of entry is more fruitfully termed “dry-point emendation”. After all, it can be argued that the extra <t> does not gloss the L. text, but it emends the original gloss *gas*, about whose form we can only speculate. It may well be that the lack of the final <t> in the original gloss may be due to a simple scribal error.

Interestingly, Toon (1991: 91) also reports dry-point compilation marks from the “Vespasian Psalter” [K:203] on ff. 12<sup>r</sup>–26<sup>r</sup>, consisting of single letters taken continuously from the Roman alphabet. He assumes that the marks “take on meaning as notes made before the text was written and that helped a scribe lay out a plan for having the book copied, as he or she guessed how much space was needed for the text of the psalms” (Toon 1991: 91). They are reminiscent of the compilation notes that Schipper reports from the “Benedictional of St Æthelwold” [G:301] (cf. p. 51 below).

A runic dry-point entry whose inner connection with the base text is difficult to assess has been edited from Exeter, Exeter Cathedral 3501 [K:116] (also known as the “Exeter Book”). Förster (1933: 64) mentions a runic dry-point entry incised in the top right margin of f. 125<sup>r</sup> of the “Exeter Book”, next to the riddle 62/64 with the reputed solution “ship” (Williamson 1977: 105 [no. 62]; Muir 2000: 361 [no. 64]). Förster transliterates it as “BUGRD”, but he takes the view that this runic entry and other marginal notes were added long after the “Exeter Book” had been written and he suggests an early-modern date of entry, “perhaps of the 17<sup>th</sup> century” (64). Williamson (1977: 327) disagrees with Förster’s reading of the third rune and suggests 𐌰 𐌺 𐌹𐌸𐌰 “B UNRP”, instead, also stressing the slightly larger spacing after the first rune. Williamson disagrees with Förster’s view that the entry was not genuinely medieval, but sees it as Old English, implying a date of entry still in the Anglo-Saxon era. Williamson (*ibid.*) reports that R. I. Page suggested to him “mischievously” in private communication that the runes might stand for OE *beo unreþe*, which he translates as “don’t be cruel” and hence as a comment on the difficulty of the riddle. Williamson provides a photograph of the runic dry-point entry (1977: 59 [Pl. XVII]), probably photographed under grazing light conditions. The individual runes are well discernible in the picture and the assumption that we deal with runic N seems

more convincing than runic G, as one of the staves is upright with respect to the direction of writing and the other staff is slanting from top right to bottom left. Muir (2000: 708) interprets this way of writing the N rune as an error and deems it possible that the rune might in fact represent A, comparing it to similar forms on the Jelling Stone. Based on Williamson's photograph, I cannot notice anything unusual about the form of the N rune, rather it seems mirrored along the vertical axis, which is not unusual in runic writing at all (cf. Page 1999: 41; Düwel 2001: 10 ["Wenderune"]). Muir (2000: 708) also points out that the final thorn rune is rather bottom-heavy and might as well be construed as a wynn rune <ƿ>, but he does not present a possible reading with final -w. In any case, the actual connection between the inscription and the text of the riddle does not become apparent, even though the riddle itself contains several runes, which might have inspired the use of runes in the dry-point annotation. In view of the other examples of runic names entered in dry-point in Anglo-Saxon MSS mentioned above, a reading of the runes as a name would be imaginable, too, but no immediate reading springs to mind, unfortunately.

In addition to this runic dry-point entry, the "Exeter Book" contains several dry-point etchings, some of which were even reproduced as actual dry-point etchings in the 1933 facsimile (Chambers et al. 1933). Conner (1986: 236–237) disagrees with Förster's late date for the dry-point sketches, based on the observation that in four of the drawings "the writing goes over the drypoint lines", which he takes as evidence "that these drypoints and surely others in the same styles were on the parchment" before the writing was added in the third quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. Conner presents a list of the dry-point drawings in the "Exeter Book" (Conner 1986: 237; enlarged in Conner 1993: 122), including "two large initial *eths* in the right margin of f. 80<sup>r</sup>" and "two ornate initial *Ps* (one above the other)" on f. 95<sup>v</sup>, and he argues that their absence in his hypothesized first collational "booklet" can serve to differentiate it from the other "booklets". However, Muir (1989: 277–279) refutes Conner's observation by reporting previously unnoticed dry-point etchings in Conner's hypothesized first "booklet", some of which may represent letter forms: "perhaps including *eth* and *wynn*" and others "most closely resembling an *O* and a *P*" on f. 47<sup>v</sup>.<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, Alger (2006: 153) also reports a previously unnoticed beginning of a dry-point alphabet plus several worn letter-like dry-point etchings on f. 49<sup>v</sup> of the "Exeter Book". The

38 Muir (1989) includes some facsimile pictures that were probably photographed under grazing light conditions to highlight the dry-point drawings and writings: foliate and vine and tendril patterning on f. 24<sup>v</sup> (Pl. 21), initial *Ps* and pointing hands on f. 95<sup>v</sup> (Pl. 22), dry-point marks, perhaps representing another robed figure, "too indistinct for identification" (Conner 1993: 122) on f. 96<sup>r</sup> (Pl. 23a), a robed figure on f. 87<sup>v</sup> (Pl. 23b), a foliate rosette on f. 64<sup>r</sup> (Pl. 23c) and head and wings of an angel on f. 78<sup>r</sup> (Pl. 23d).

crude forms of the letters lead Alger to the conclusion that the glossator was merely practising letterforms, which are made up of mixed Insular and Caroline minuscules. None of the commentators can make perfect sense of the dry-point annotations vis-à-vis the base text. They do not seem to gloss anything as such, but the fact that even after Förster's, Conner's and Muir's thorough searches for dry-point material, Alger (2006) was still able to find previously unreported etchings seems worth noting.

Another case of a runic dry-point inscription whose linguistic status as OE is uncertain and whose inner connection to the base text remains unclear is presented by St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 188. Nievergelt (2009a: 65–68) describes a runic dry-point inscription that he deciphers as  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{f}$ , illustrated by a photographic picture of the entry from the bottom margin of p. 77, shot in grazing light conditions (2009a: 67). According to Nievergelt, the incision is very neat and distinct and the reading of the individual runes is quite certain. Since the second rune presupposes *futhorc* usage, the inscription is probably to be interpreted as “ECÆW”, but Nievergelt cautions that the status of runic usage in St. Gallen is difficult to assess and hence the third rune could possibly have been meant to represent A and the fourth rune might have been meant to represent *thorn* rather than *wynn*. In any case a L. or OHG interpretation of the inscription seems unlikely out of graphematic and phonological considerations. Due to the fact that other St. Gallen MSS are known to contain OE (in one case, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394, Part IX[32/K:A44], even in dry-point), Nievergelt is inclined to interpret the inscription as OE *ecg-æ(w)*, a supposed *hapax legomenon* composed of *ecg* “sword” and *æ(w)* “law” referring to the text of MAXIMUS TAURINENSIS's *Homily* 114 on the same MS page concerned with military service. No specific lemma in the text can be tied to the inscription, so the runic entry would have to be understood as a very general comment on the text as a whole.

Another runic dry-point entry, which may represent a general comment on the base text, is reported from the “Blickling Psalter” (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 776 [G:862]) by Pulsiano (2002: 190):<sup>39</sup>

In the Blickling Psalter, in the bottom margin of f. 82r, appear scratches in a large, sprawling hand, easily passed over, but which appropriately spell in runes the word “psalter” (as *ʒsaltrie*).

Unfortunately, Pulsiano does not provide a precise description of his find or a drawing of this interesting entry. The linguistic status of this entry is difficult to assess and a detailed runological examination would be in order. It has to be

39 M.J. Toswell, from the University of Western Ontario, kindly drew my attention to Philip Pulsiano's last, posthumously published, article.

assumed that the initial question mark in Pulsiano's transliteration is meant to indicate at least one further undecipherable rune, for which a runic *p* would be a likely candidate.<sup>40</sup> Syncope of the medial vowel (i.e. *-tr-*) is not compatible with L. *psalterium*, and also in OE it is attested only once in the *DOEC* 2009, in the form *saltre* (dat. sg.) from the very late "Eadwine Psalter",<sup>41</sup> glossing L. *psalterio* (Psalm 143, referring to the instrument, not to the Book of Psalms). Both syncope of the medial vowel and the ending *-ie* are reminiscent of ME forms (cf. MED "sautri(e (n.)"), however the *-l-* is not typical for ME, where forms in *-u-* or *-w-* dominate by far, though the former does occur. The lack or presence of initial *p-* cannot help in dating the entry, either, although forms with initial *p-* are more common in OE than in ME. Lacking a runological dating, I am inclined to assume that this dry-point runic entry may be of a late date, perhaps even eME.

Derolez (1954: 8) reports dry-point MS runes from London, British Library Cotton Domitian A. ix [K:151], f. 11<sup>v</sup>.<sup>42</sup> In the originally blank space below a tabular representation of the Anglo-Saxon futhorc, runic dry-point *f u þ o (?)*, runic dry-point *a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p* and a solitary runic dry-point *g* have been added in a "rather careless way", as Derolez puts it. The runes were probably inspired by the runes given on the page. The date of their entry is unknown, but they must have been entered before the antiquary Robert Talbot (1505[?]-1558) added explanations of the rune names in the same blank space in sec. xvi. The fact that Talbot wrote right across the dry-point writing may point either to the possibility that he did not see the dry-point runes or that he chose to ignore them. They are easily visible in the facsimile given by Derolez (1954: Pl. 1); in fact, they are so easily visible that one may wonder whether their edges have been smudged or whether they were originally entered in (now faded) ink, pencil or crayon, leaving a dry-point-like appearance.<sup>43</sup>

Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65 [13/K:121\*] also features an alphabet – consisting of 20 symbols, mainly in Anglo-Saxon runes, but also including some non-runic

40 In OHG editions, the question mark can also stand for a scratch that may or may not present a letter. Uncertain letters, on the other hand, are indicated by a dot <.> (cf. p. 56).

41 Cambridge, Trinity College Library R. 17. 1, sec. xii; the interlinear gloss is very late, sec. xii<sup>med</sup>. (Ker 1957: 135–136 [no. 91]).

42 Fol. 11 is a single leaf, originally the ending of a now lost MS, sec. xi, with additions sec. xii, cf. Ker (1957: 188–189 [no. 151]).

43 Incidentally, Derolez (1954: 178) also noticed dry-point writing in Bern, Burgerbibliothek Cod. 207: "A couple of letters (XA?) were scratched with a dry point, but seem to have no relation to the following runes." The MS was probably written in Fleury, sec. viii/ix, and contains several interesting runic alphabets, some of which feature Anglo-Saxon runes. However, in view of the MS's origin and provenance, Anglo-Saxon background for the dry-point material seems unlikely.

symbols – representing the letters *a* to *u*, scratched into its back cover.<sup>44</sup> The MS also features an interesting runic dry-point inscription on its front cover that seems to mix runic and Roman writing. It is probably meant to give a terse indication of the MS's contents as the name *iosepi* is entered three times (once only partially), referring to PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS, whose *De bello Iudaico* is contained in the MS.<sup>45</sup> The MS itself was written in (Northern?) Italy, sec. vi, and presumably passed through England to Fulda, probably in connection with Boniface's missionary activities. Wiedemann (1994: 96) mentions a date sec. viii/ix for the runic inscriptions. The MS also features some of the oldest OE dry-point glosses that we know, which is why the MS is included in the *Catalogue* below.

For some reported dry-point material, there is no edition available that I am aware of. Ó Cróinín mentions dry-point glosses in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. Hamilt. 553 [G:790] – an illuminated Roman Psalter, nicknamed “Salaberga Psalter”, originating from Northumbria, perhaps Lindisfarne, sec. viii<sup>1</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 118). All the information that is available to me at the moment is given in Ó Cróinín (1994: 16): “There are a few dry-point glosses (fol. 12v lower margin; 13vb small-cap *ô*, between tramlines; 35v centre; not noted by Lowe [(CLA 8: 1048)] or Boese [(1966: 270)], but they do not reveal anything of the manuscript's early history.” Unfortunately, I could not find any further information on the subject. Since the MS originates from Anglo-Saxon England, there is at least the possibility that this material might be OE, although Ó Cróinín's phrasing would not suggest it.<sup>46</sup>

James (1912: 316) reports “an old scribble in large letters made with a dry point” on f. 1<sup>r</sup> of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 [K:70] without providing a reading. Some letter forms of the scribble are visible in the digital facsimile provided by “Parker Library on the web”.<sup>47</sup> The MS containing *Salomon and Saturn*, sec. x<sup>med.</sup>, and a missal, sec. xi<sup>med.</sup>, is described by Ker (1957: 119–121 [no. 70]), but he does not mention the scribble, which may or may not be an indication that the scribble is in L. Its position and size suggest that it is probably not a text gloss.

44 Facsimile drawings in Lehmann (1925: 16) and Derolez (1954: 271); for a discussion of individual symbols, cf. Derolez (1954: 271–272).

45 Facsimile drawing and short discussion in Lehmann (1925: 16). Derolez (1954: 414) agrees with Lehmann's reading, which hinges on a mixture of runic *ᛞ* ‘e’ and Roman ‘P’ – disguised as runic *ᛞ* ‘w’ – forming a peculiar bind rune. The fact that the alphabet on the back cover also features *ᛞ* ‘w’ where we would normally expect *ᛞ* ‘p’ gives further credence to this interpretation.

46 I contacted Prof. Ó Cróinín via email to establish whether the dry-point glosses are in Latin or in some vernacular. He was so kind to reply, but he could not specify, unfortunately: “That seems to be all I have!” (personal communication, March 11, 2013).

47 URL: <[http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/zoom\\_view.do?ms\\_no=422&page=1](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/zoom_view.do?ms_no=422&page=1)>.

### 2.3.3 Dry-Point Annotations to the “Old English Bede”

Wallis (2013a, 2013b) presents an interesting case of dry-point annotations in a copy of the OE translation of BEDA's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* preserved in Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279B, Part II [K:354] (O). This early 11<sup>th</sup>-c. copy of the “Old English Bede” was revised by a corrector – presumably of sec. xi – who added short “interventions” to the OE text, usually consisting merely of a few letters added in dry-point, of which Wallis records “at least eighty-nine in Book 3” (2013b: 161). Wallis makes a careful attempt at classifying the different types of relationship between the dry-point annotations and the original text.

The largest group of dry-point annotations is concerned with a number of grammatical emendations to the text, such as pronouns in the accusative case following the preposition OE *mid*. The corrector – working in dry-point – adds the dative ending of the demonstrative pronouns above the forms, only replacing the letters that have to be changed to arrive at the dative form. Wallis (2013b: 173) quotes the example OE *mid þa gyfe* ‘with the gift’ (f. 26<sup>v</sup>), above whose demonstrative pronoun the corrector added the letters *ære* in dry-point in order to turn the acc. form of the OE pronoun from *þa* (f. acc. sg.) into *þære* (f. dat. sg.).

In a second, smaller group of annotations, lexical substitutions are made in dry-point. Thus, for instance, the reading *hiwan* ‘retainers’ in the relative clause *þe se cyning ne cuðe ne his hiwan* ‘which neither the king nor his retainers knew’ is emended to the contextually quasi-synonymous *hired* ‘household’ by means of a drypoint superscript *red* on f. 42<sup>v</sup>. Wallis (2013b: 181) surmises that “*hiwan* was losing popularity to *hired* in the course of the eleventh century”.

In a third group Wallis assorts textual annotations, in which Anglian spellings are modified to comply with West Saxon spelling conventions. The spelling *Pehta* ‘Pict’ (with Anglian smoothing) in two instances of Book 3, for instance, triggered the addition of dry-point <o> above the <eh>, transmuting the form into *Peohta*, displaying breaking. Incidentally, a third appearance of the same word form remains unammended. In other places, readings that are impaired by cramped lettering are confirmed in dry-point (Wallis 2013b: 186), and in two instances past participle forms are prepended by prefixal *ge-* (188).

Wallis also identifies a number of dry-point emendations which she takes as evidence that variant readings may have been incorporated from other exemplars of the translation of Bede's History in dry-point. MS O reads *7 þær wæs* ‘and there was’ and features a superscribed <o> above the Tironian note. This



emendation can be made sense of before the backdrop of the readings provided by MSS T and B *oðer wæs* ‘the other was’.<sup>48</sup>

These are interesting finds that leave us hungry for more. If dry-point emendations were added to OE MSS in 11<sup>th</sup>-c. England, it may well be that other (perhaps even well-known) MSS of OE texts feature similar annotations that have so far gone unnoticed due to their difficult visual nature. However, I shall not include these emendations as dry-point glosses proper in the present *Catalogue*. They can certainly be called “glosses” in Wieland’s (1983) sense, but in the traditional terminology of OE glossography they do not qualify as glosses.<sup>49</sup> Their “comment” on the text, if you like, is of an altogether different kind. Yet, such annotations are closely related to dry-point glosses and it is to be hoped that similar observations will soon be collected from other MSS to put this usage of the stylus into perspective.

### 2.3.4 Dry-Point Glosses of Uncertain Linguistic Status

The “Echternach Gospels” – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 9389 [G:893], written around AD 700 in Northumbria or an Insular centre on the Continent – have long been suspected of featuring an OE gloss, at times even two OE glosses.<sup>50</sup> Several articles have been published on the topic, but no detailed linguistic study successfully arguing that any of the glosses are OE has been published to date. *CLA* (5 [1950]: 578) reports a single, supposedly OE dry-point gloss *bigine* glossing L. *incipientes* (Jn 8: 9) on f. 194<sup>r</sup>.<sup>51</sup> Muller (1985: 67–69) edits 10 dry-point glosses from the MS, of which he identifies 2 as OHG (including the gloss *bigine* that *CLA* thought to be OE) and 8 as L. In a first draft of his edition (Muller 1983), which Muller himself later considered to be obsolete (cf. Muller 1985: 69, n. 226), Muller had thought the above-mentioned gloss *bigine* and another dry-point gloss, which he read as *scip* (Muller 1983: 388), to be OE. Muller later (Muller 1985), however, argues convincingly that *bigine* ought to be considered OHG and the other gloss to be L. *s cip*, meaning L. *s[cilicet] cip* ‘read “cip” [instead of coep]’, which he assumes to be a (partial) emendation of the text’s original L. *coepimus* (Lk 5:5). Hence, while Muller (1983: 389) initially agreed with *CLA*

48 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10 (T) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (B).

49 Wallis (2013b: 161–164) provides an insightful discussion of the vagueness of the term “gloss” in Wieland’s (1983) and Stork’s (1990) conceptualization, concluding that she also prefers to categorise the dry-point material found in O “as ‘annotations’ or ‘corrections’, rather than as ‘glosses’”.

50 An online digital facsimile of the MS is available at “Gallica: Bibliothèque numérique”. URL: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530193948>>.

51 The gloss is placed in between the columns next to ll. 17/18; the gloss is surprisingly clearly visible in the online digital facsimile.



that the form *bigine* was OE, two years later (1985: 69) he is in favour of OHG (“[d]och liegt eine Deutung aus dem Althochdeutschen näher”<sup>52</sup>).

Ó Cróinín, however, who is apparently not aware of Muller’s updated (1985) edition and instead refers to Muller’s retracted (1983) edition, repeats CLA’s claim that the gloss *bigine* is OE:

The Echternach Gospels have not usually been included in discussions of manuscripts containing Old English and Old High German glosses, although E. A. Lowe had pointed out (CLA V 578) the presence of one such OE dry-point entry (f. 194r incipientes gl. *bigine*). (Ó Cróinín 1999: 87)<sup>53</sup>

Ó Cróinín (1999) also edits an additional 9 or 10 L. dry-point glosses, which Muller (1985) does not mention, but Ó Cróinín also repeats Muller’s retracted (1983) reading *scip* without specifying its supposed linguistic status. Ó Cróinín does not explicitly discuss any of the forms, but he appears to be in favour of OE, at least for the gloss *bigine*.

Glaser (1997: 17–18) edits 12 dry-point glosses from the “Echternach Gospels”, 10 of which had not been edited before, and she only cautiously refers to them as “volkssprachig”.<sup>54</sup> *BStK* (1478) – presumably based on Glaser & Moulin-Fankhänel (1999: 108) – refers to 12 dry-point glosses and reports the language of all the vernacular glosses in the “Echternach Gospels” as “unbestimmt”.<sup>55</sup> The majority of German scholars mentioning the dry-point glosses in the “Echternach Gospels” is undecided: “altenglische oder althochdeutsche Stilusglosse” (Ebersperger 1999: 110);<sup>56</sup> “wohl alle deutsch [...] (englisch in einigen Fällen nicht ausgeschlossen)” (Seebold 2001: 36);<sup>57</sup> “[a]ltenglisch in einigen Fällen aber doch nicht völlig ausgeschlossen” (Köbler 2005: 511);<sup>58</sup> “Glossen in beiden Sprachen [...] (wohl auch) im Echternacher Evangeliar” (Bulitta 2011: 166);<sup>59</sup> no gloss in particular, however, is explicitly declared to be OE. That means that the inclusion of the “Echternach Gospels” as an OE dry-point gloss MS in our current *Catalogue* really only hinges on the conflicting statements about the linguistic attribution of the gloss *bigine*.

52 I.e. ‘however, an interpretation as OHG is closer to the mark’.

53 In fact, I think it was Bischoff and not Lowe who actually identified the dry-point gloss (cf. p. 233 below), though I do not have sufficient evidence on this point at the moment.

54 I.e. ‘vernacular’.

55 I.e. ‘indeterminate’.

56 I.e. ‘OE or OHG dry-point gloss’.

57 I.e. ‘probably all of them German [...] (English cannot be ruled out in some cases)’.

58 I.e. ‘OE not completely ruled out in some cases’.

59 I.e. ‘glosses in both languages [i.e. OHG and OE] [...] (probably also) in the Echternach Gospels’.

The reading *bigine* (with Insular <ȝ>) for the gloss in question is confirmed by CLA (5: 578), Muller (1983: 389), Muller (1985: 69), Glaser (1997: 18), Ó Cróinín (1999: 87) and Glaser & Moulin-Fankhänel (1999: 108).<sup>60</sup> Nievergelt & De Wulf (2015) point out the existence of a further letter after <e>, perhaps <c>. Muller offers hand-drawn reproductions of the dry-point material (1983: 386 and 1985: 70) and he hints at the possibility that there might be an abbreviation stroke on top of <n>,<sup>61</sup> but his reproductions do not document that mark and none of the other editors mention it; Nievergelt & De Wulf (2015) clearly reject the notion after having autopsied the dry-point writing.

CLA's (5: 578) and Muller's (1983: 10) initial (but later retracted) identification of the form *bigine* as OE and the subsequent unassertive treatment of that gloss in OHG scholarly literature is motivated, at least partly, by the fact that the form *bigine* does not fit OHG expectations; especially the single -n- of the form is suspicious, but it is only rarely attested in OE, too. Since the gloss is formally incongruent with its lemma L. *incipientes*, some kind of abbreviation or merograph would have to be pre-supposed. Muller (1985: 69) tentatively (and in apparent disbelief) expands to OE *biginnende*; Nievergelt & De Wulf (2015: 92–94) reconstruct OHG *\*biginnag* or OE *\*beginag* 'beginning' while stressing that their reading somewhat hinges on the final <c>, which remains uncertain.

From the point of view of OE phonology, retention of *i* in unaccented syllable would be compatible with the early date of the glosses in the "Echternach Gospels", which are generally dated sec. viii (e.g. *BStK* 1478 [no. 774b]). Although PGmc. *\*bi-* (Orel 2003: 44–45) was generally reduced in unstressed positions to OE *be-*, and remained high front only in nominal formations where the stress came to rest on it, such as OE *biggeng* 'practice' (stressed on the first syllable) vs. OE *begangan* 'to practice' (stressed on the second), retention of *i* is in fact attested in very early texts (Campbell 1959: § 369). From the point of view of lexicography, however, it is important to note that among the various prefixal variants of *-ginnan*, *be-ginnan* is by far the least common in OE, with OE *in-ginnan* and OE *onginnan* being far more typical (as was already pointed out by Muller 1985: 69). Moreover, *bi-ginnan* with prefixal *bi-* is never attested in an early OE text and only rarely in the whole corpus, anyway: Out of 200 forms of OE *beginnan* recorded in the *DOEC* 2009, only two forms show the prefix *bi-*: it is attested once in the continuous gloss of the "Rushworth Gospels" (Oxford,

60 Both Glaser & Moulin-Fankhänel (1999: 107, n. 14) and Ó Cróinín (1999: 87, n. 14) independently report that Prof. Thomas Toon was also working on the MS around 1988, but apparently no publication resulted from it.

61 Muller (1985: 69): "Vielleicht steht über dem *n* ein Abkürzungsstrich." I.e. 'Perhaps there is an abbreviation stroke above *n*.'

Bodleian Library Auctarium D. 2. 19 [K:292], with OE *biginnes* glossing L. *coeperitis* in Lk 3:8), probably added sec. x, and once in two late copies (sec. xiv and sec. xvi) of a royal L. grant with OE bounds (Sawyer 1968: no. 556; dated A.D. 951, OE *bigan*). The two late copies may safely be ruled out as evidence, as the prefix *bi-* is in accordance with ME usage (*MED* s.v. “biginnen”) and hence not necessarily original. With the “Rushworth Gospels”, on the other hand, it is interesting to note that the “Lindisfarne Gospels” (British Library Cotton Nero D. iv [K:165]), which are assumed to have been copied from the same exemplar, show OE *beginnes*. Incidentally, OE *biginnes* is the only form of the verb *beginnan* in the “Rushworth Gospels”; the far more common synonym is OE *onginnan*, occurring more than two dozen times in the *Gospel of Luke* alone (cf. Tamoto 2013).

Summing up, there is no unequivocal evidence that the form *bigine* cannot be OE; yet, bearing in mind that the OHG cognate of the verb shows prefixal *bi-* (*AWB* s.v. “bi-ginnan”, not including this particular gloss in its apparatus of forms) and that the other 11 vernacular glosses in the “Echternach Gospels” are “mehr oder weniger sicher” OHG (Glaser 1997: 18),<sup>62</sup> I am not inclined to accept *bigine* as an OE form at the moment. *CLA*’s and Ó Cróinín’s appraisals of the gloss as OE are not provided with verifiable analyses. Muller (1985) argues in favour of OHG; Nievergelt & De Wulf (2015: 103) are reluctant to decide either in favour of OHG or OE, they rather propose some continental West Germanic context, other than OHG. Therefore, the “Echternach Gospels” are not included in the *Catalogue* below, as they cannot confidently be said to feature an OE dry-point gloss until a detailed analysis to that effect is published.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6402 (*BStK*: 1060–1062 [no. 536]) features a large number of dry-point additions, consisting of letters, doodles or unidentifiable scratches. The main part of the MS was perhaps written in Verona, sec. viii or ix; the first part of the MS (ff. 1–18) was added in Freising, sec. viii<sup>4/4</sup>, where the MS remained until the secularization of 1803 (cf. *BStK*: 1061; Nievergelt 2009: 180). Nievergelt (2009: 180–187) lists over 60 very difficult dry-point additions, including names and L. glosses, but for most of them only individual letters are decipherable to him. Only one dry-point gloss added in a partial vowel substitution cipher (*a=b*; *u=x*) is sufficiently legible for Nievergelt to attempt an interpretation. His reading is OHG(?) *inbxbnxīlī* glossing L. *inhabitare* ‘to dwell in’. Undoing the substitutions, Nievergelt (2009: 182) interprets the gloss tentatively as OHG *inbuan uīlī* ‘wants (3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. pres. ind.) to dwell in’. The reading of the last three letters is doubtful, however, and Nievergelt cautions that the interpretation of the second word is therefore highly specu-

62 I.e. ‘more or less certainly’ OHG.

lative.<sup>63</sup> More importantly for our concern, however, Nievergelt also points out that OE background is at least imaginable for the first word *inbuan*, because the form of this infinitive, which glosses the infinitive *inhabitare* of the L. base text (JUVENCUS, *Evangeliorum libri quattuor* I, 301), would be the same in both OHG and OE.<sup>64</sup> The evidence is inconclusive at the moment, as none of the other dry-point fragments supplies enough information to corroborate either interpretation. No OE dry-point glosses have been associated with Freising so far and since the MS also features 22 OHG ink glosses, I do not think that the MS ought to be considered for inclusion in the *Catalogue*, based on the present evidence. Further work on these difficult glosses may perhaps provide sufficient data to readdress the issue one day.

## 2.4 Non-English Dry-Point Glossing

### 2.4.1 Dry-Point Glossing in Latin

Dry-point writing in medieval MSS is not only known from the Anglo-Saxon sphere. From the European Middle Ages there is also evidence for dry-point glossing in Latin, Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Irish and Old Slavonic.

If we bear in mind that the vast majority of written output in medieval Western Europe was produced in Latin, it comes as something of a surprise that the scholarly literature on OE and especially on OHG glosses by far exceeds that on L. glosses. It is probably just because there are so many extant medieval written documents in Latin left to study that the glosses in them are only rarely studied in their own right. Goossens (1974: 32) remarks: “More than anything else a thorough investigation of the Latin gll. belongs to the urgent requirements but so far that study has not even been started”, and Wieland (1984) pithily calls L. glossing “the stepchild of glossologists”.

Important work has been done in the field of L. glossing, though: Wieland (1983) and Stork (1990) present two detailed studies of the L. glossing in two MSS of ARATOR, PRUDENTIUS and ALDHELM, and McCormick (1992) offers a highly interesting edition of more than 600 dry-point glosses in L. and OHG as well

63 See below, p. 56, for the meaning of dots added below letters in OHG gloss editions.

64 The simplex *buan* ‘to dwell’ is attested in both OHG (AWB s.v. ‘buan’) and OE (DOE s.v. ‘būan’); the prefixed verb *inbuan* is (so far) only attested in OE. I can find two attestations in the DOEC, both glossing L. *inhabitare* – once in the Durham Ritual and once in the Lindisfarne Gospel of Matthew. It is at least imaginable that these are spontaneous word formations, whose probative value in the light of OHG nominal formations like *inbūo* ‘inhabitant’ is debatable.

as Tironian notes, dating to the mid-9<sup>th</sup> c. from the “Palatine Virgil” (Vaticano, Vatican Library MS Pal. lat. 1631).

Schipper (1994) edits L. dry-point writing from the so-called “Benedictional of St Æthelwold” (London, British Library Additional 49 598 [G:301]), produced in AD 971×973 in Winchester, which is considered to be “the most lavishly produced manuscript which has survived from Anglo-Saxon England” (Schipper 1994: 17, quoting Michael Lapidge). Short L. phrases of one to four words are added to 13 top margins of that codex. Schipper (1994: 23) deems it possible that further pages had similar notes, but they may have been cut off during rebinding. These notes clearly do not function as glosses, because they were added before the text was written, as Schipper (*ibid.*) concludes from an instance of dry-point writing that is right behind the text now. After a detailed analysis of the collation of the codex, Schipper identifies the dry-point notes to be “compilation notes” that is “rough indication of what benedictions were to be inserted and where” (Schipper 1994: 27). Schipper describes the physical appearance of the dry-point notes as falling into two altogether different groups, namely dry-point notes that were entered with a blunt stylus, leaving nothing but an indentation in the parchment, on the one hand, and dry-point notes that were entered with some sort of metallic stylus, whose metallic residue has since “oxidized to a faint dark reddish colour” (Schipper 1994: 21). Schipper includes photographs of eight of these notes that show the difference in their appearance nicely. The oxidized notes contrast quite strongly with the parchment’s surface and hence it comes as something of a surprise that no-one had noticed them before Schipper took an interest in them (cf. Schipper 1994: 18).<sup>65</sup> The “Benedictional of St Æthelwold” may be taken as evidence that at least sometimes the stylus was used in Anglo-Saxon England for writing specifically because it did not leave easily visible traces.<sup>66</sup>

Searching the world-wide web for the expression “scratch glosses”, I came across Prof. Sarah Larratt Keefer’s CV on her institutional website at Trent University (Peterborough, ON), in which she mentioned a paper in preparation on “The Scratch Glosses of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146 [K:37]: the Sam-

65 I have not seen (let alone autopsied) the “Benedictional of St Æthelwold”, but judging from Schipper’s description and the photographs presented in Schipper (1994: 24), I wonder whether all of the compilation notes really were entered in dry-point. Some of them are extremely distinct and not reminiscent of dry-point writing at all. I think there is the possibility that the “oxidized”, red notes may in fact have been produced by some sort of colouring writing implement, perhaps minium(?).

66 A quite similar case is reported from the “Vespasian Psalter” [K:203] by Toon (1991: 91). Rather than words taken from the texts, however, Roman letters are added in dry-point, but they seem to have served a similar function during the compilation of the MS (cf. p. 40 above).

son Pontifical” (sec. xi<sup>m</sup>, cf. Ker 1957: 50–51 [no. 37]). I was intrigued, wondering whether the glosses might be OE, and contacted her via email to inquire about the dry-point glosses. She kindly informed me that they were in Latin and that she would not go ahead with the proposed article on them.<sup>67</sup> As far as I can tell, none of these glosses have been published so far.

L. dry-point glosses are sometimes also mentioned and even edited as a by-product by scholars whose main interest is in the vernacular glossing of a specific MS.<sup>68</sup> However, especially with early editions it is not clear how the editors dealt with L. dry-point glossing. At least for some MSS, it seems that the L. dry-point glossing was simply ignored as soon as it turned out to be non-OE. So the lack of reports of L. dry-point glossing must not be taken as direct evidence that there are no L. (or further, previously unnoticed vernacular) dry-point glosses in a particular MS.

Recent gloss scholarship has stressed the importance of the inclusion of L. glosses in the study of OE glosses (cf. Page 1992: 85; Gwara 1999: 822). If we want to understand the OE glosses as more than just lexical material, the focus has to be on functional and hence contextual aspects of the glossing, as exemplified by Page (1982) and by Gwara’s numerous publications on the extant MSS of ALDHELM’s *Prosa de virginitate*. Since the L. glossing often already existed in the MSS at the time when the OE glosses were added, their presence has to be recorded if we want to fathom the intentions behind the vernacular glossing.

I have tried to include that little information on L. glossing that was available to me for the MSS in the *Catalogue* presented below, however, not being a Latinist and not having autopsied the MSS themselves, I would like to stress that the information given on the L. glossing in the respective MSS is highly selective.

## 2.4.2 Dry-Point Glossing in Old High German

The existence of OHG dry-point glosses in L. MSS has been known at least since the early 19<sup>th</sup>c.<sup>69</sup> Yet dry-point glosses played only a marginal role in the study of OHG glossography until late in the 20<sup>th</sup> c., when dry-point glosses could no

67 Larratt Keefer (personal communication, February 13, 2013).

68 Cf. Meritt (1933: 307, n. 7) and Page (1979: 33).

69 Cf. for example Docen (1806: 286 [no. XII]) on glosses in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6277 (cf. BStK: 1036–1037 [no. 518]): “die deutschen Glossen sind hier zahlreicher, grösstentheils am Rande geschrieben, hie und da auch wohl mit einem Griffel eingeritzt”, i.e. ‘the German glosses are more numerous here, mostly added marginally, every now and then apparently scratched in with a stylus’. It is interesting to note that the dry-point and pencil glosses in this MSS were edited repeatedly by Steinmeyer (StSG 2: 163), Bischoff (1928: 158–159), Nievergelt (unpublished) and Ernst (2007: 421–506). Each time, further OHG glosses could be deciphered so that the number of reported

longer be ignored as an important source of OHG, as Glaser (1996: 51) puts it. By that time, OHG ink glosses had been investigated very thoroughly and edited comprehensively (yet not exhaustively) in Elias von Steinmeyer and Eduard Siever's monumental *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* (*StSG*), published between 1879 and 1922, as well as in numerous further publications and editions.<sup>70</sup> In 1973, Bergmann (1973) compiled a preliminary list of 1,023 OHG gloss MSS that had been identified until then. He numbered the MSS consecutively, and his numbers (nicknamed "Bergmann-Nummern", i.e. 'Bergmann numbers') have since become an important reference system in OHG (and OS) gloss studies.<sup>71</sup> Bergmann continuously updated and maintained his list, and by 2005, when Bergmann's (1973) list had been turned into a full-blown 3,000-page catalogue (*BStK*), a large number of additional OHG gloss MSS had been identified. As a consequence, the numbering scheme was continuously expanded and letters were introduced to allow for a meaningful internal differentiation of the numbering logic, so that MSS from the same repository could be arranged in meaningful groups (e.g. 710, 710a, 710b, ... 710z, 710aa, 710ab, etc. for various MSS from München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). In addition to that, changes in the treatment of MS fragments and MS parts entailed a number of modifications to the numbering scheme (through splitting of former units and fusion of formerly separate entries). *BStK*, as published in 2005, listed 1,309 entries, but the numbers have kept rising at a steady pace since.

An impressive amount of palaeographical, lexicographical and glossographical work is continuously done in the field of OHG glossography, too. Major dictionaries include Starck & Wells (1971–1990) and Schützeichel (2004) and the current state-of-the-art handbook on OHG glosses is *BStH*, which was published in 2009. Incidentally, Schützeichel (2004: 12: 9–32) even includes a number of OE dry-point glosses in a special section of the *Althochdeutscher und altsächsischer Glossenwortschatz*, devoted to OE glosses that are encountered alongside OHG glosses (i.e. glosses from [1/K:287\*], [12/K:A41], [13/K:121\*], [14/K:98\*] and [34/K:400]).<sup>72</sup>

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glosses gradually rose from 10 to 30 to 49 to 87 (cf. Ernst 2007: 425). Ernst (2007) also edits 5 L. dry-point glosses, 1 dry-point text emendation and about two dozens of yet undeciphered dry-point traces of uncertain linguistic status from that MS.

70 A major update of *StSG* can be found in Köbler (1993); for the most comprehensive overview of the relevant literature, cf. *BStK* and *BStH*.

71 The numbers presented here include both OHG and OS gloss MSS, as they are both combined in *BStK*. Only a comparatively small number of OS gloss MSS have been identified so far, and I shall subsume the OS gloss under the label "OHG" in the following calculations in order not to complicate things even further.

72 Schützeichel (2004) does not distinguish the manner of entry for his gloss citations. A number of glosses are quoted, however, which are not included in either Ker (1957) or



When Glaser (1996) for the first time dedicated a whole monograph specifically to OHG dry-point glosses, she included a preliminary list of 70 OHG dry-point gloss MSS as a first overview of the state of OHG dry-point gloss research up to the mid-1990s. Apart from a few samples edited by *StSG* and Meritt (1934, 1961), Glaser's list mainly consists of MSS that had been identified as OHG dry-point gloss MSS by Bernhard Bischoff during his work for Lowe's *CLA* in the 1920s and 1930s. Editions based on Bischoff's findings were published only gradually in loose succession by himself (e.g. Bischoff 1928) and – after a summarizing description of his gloss discoveries had been published by Stach (1950) – by scholars who heavily relied on Bischoff's notes (e.g. Stach 1951, Hofmann 1963, Mayer 1974 and others).

By editing dry-point glosses from five MSS from Freising in Bavaria, Glaser (1996: 637) shows convincingly that even MSS whose dry-point glosses have been edited before may yield substantial further dry-point gloss harvests upon close inspection. Both Nievergelt (2007) and Ernst (2007) could edit large numbers from well-known gloss MSS. Mainly due to Nievergelt's subsequent efforts, the number of known OHG/OS dry-point gloss MSS has been steadily rising (cf. Fig. 1) since Glaser counted 70 OHG dry-point gloss MSS in 1996;<sup>73</sup> 85 OHG/OS dry-point gloss MSS were known in 2004,<sup>74</sup> 118 in 2009,<sup>75</sup> 146 in 2011,<sup>76</sup> 155 in 2012<sup>77</sup>, 179 in 2013<sup>78</sup> and 202 in 2015<sup>79</sup>. That also means that the percentage of OHG/OS dry-point gloss MSS has been constantly rising within the corpus of OHG/OS gloss MSS: from about 7 % in 2004/2005 (85 out of 1,309) to roughly 13.8 %<sup>80</sup> of all OHG/OS gloss MSS in 2015 (ca. 202 out of ca. 1,465).

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its updates, such as glosses from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 2685 (s.v. “blædre”; cf. *BStK*: 1415–1417 [no. 741] and Bulitta 2011: 168), from Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars 61 (s.v. “brandhāt”; cf. *BStK*: 1684–1687 [no. 877]) or from Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. lat. 4° 676 (s.v. “cine”; cf. *BStK*: 219–221 [no. 44 (I)] and Bulitta 2011: 169; the MS is currently held in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska Berol. Ms. lat. 4° 676). As far as I could establish, none of them are entered in dry-point and they predominantly seem to be OE remnants in OHG glossaries. They ought to be checked on the occasion of an update of Ker's Catalogue, though.

73 Glaser (1996: 52).

74 Glaser & Nievergelt (2004: 121–123).

75 Glaser & Nievergelt (2009: 217).

76 Nievergelt (2011: 313) cites 147, but that tally was later corrected to 146 in Nievergelt (2012: 381).

77 Nievergelt (2012: 380).

78 Nievergelt (2013: 387).

79 Nievergelt (2015: 294).

80 The calculated percentage may only serve as a rough estimate: Firstly, by the time these numbers appear in print, they are outdated already; secondly, the distinction between dry-point glosses and pencil glosses is not always made consistently in the secondary literature (cf. Nievergelt 2015: 294) and further autopsies will affect the numbers; and



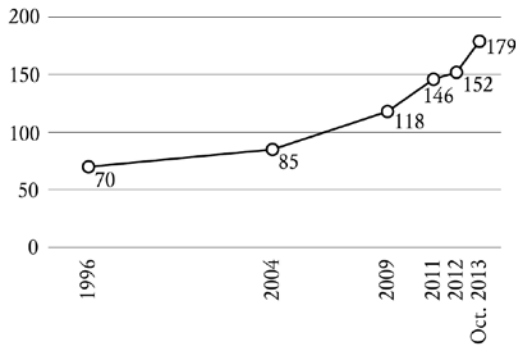


Figure 1: Development of numbers of known OHG dry-point gloss MSS.

Glaser (1996) set a new standard in the edition of dry-point glosses by discussing in great detail the exact visual appearance of the individual dry-point glosses and by expounding the difficulties that are involved in deciphering dry-point material. The manner of presentation has since become standard in OHG dry-point gloss editions (e.g. Nievergelt 2007, Ernst 2007). Such a typical edition entry consists of:

1. a general indication where the gloss is placed on the MS page, i. e. folio / page, line or relative placement in the margin;
2. a sufficiently long quotation of the L. base text, allowing for enough context to make sense of the lemma, indicating textual deviations in that particular MS from the standard text editions, typesetting the lemma in italics;
3. a G. translation of the L. base text, typesetting the presumed lemma of the base text in italics;
4. a detailed transcription of the lemma followed by a detailed transcription of the interpretamentum;<sup>81</sup>
5. comments on the precise placement of the interpretamentum with respect to the lemma and comments on uncertain readings and possible alternative readings;

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thirdly, the numbers encompass both OHG and OS gloss MSS, which are treated as one corpus in the relevant statistics (however, the vast majority of MSS contain OHG glosses). The online OHG dry-point gloss MSS directory, continuously updated and maintained under the supervision of Dr. Oliver Ernst (cf. Nievergelt 2012: 379) currently lists only 161 OHG dry-point gloss MSS (retrieved in August 2016), but is undergoing continuous updating. The developments have become so dynamic that it is difficult to keep track of the rapid influx of news in this field. URL: <<http://de.althochdeutscheglossen.wikia.com/wiki/Griffelglossenhandschriften>>.

<sup>81</sup> Line breaks before, within or after the lemmata and interpretamenta are indicated by a vertical bar <|>, abbreviations are not expanded and emendations to the text are preserved as such.

6. a detailed linguistic commentary, entailing (a) lemmatization, (b) exhaustive morphological discussion of the respective forms with respect to case, number, person, declension class, conjugation class, mood, voice, tense etc., (c) bibliographical cross-references to relevant dictionaries, grammars or word studies, (d) a discussion of the semantic equivalence of lemma and interpretamentum and (e) references to equivalent lemma / interpretamentum pairs.

Since dry-point writing can sometimes offer variable degrees of legibility, a small set of symbols and diacritics is generally used to indicate such considerations (cf. Glaser 1996: 100). In OHG dry-point gloss editions, uncertain readings are customarily indicated by adding dots underneath doubtful letters, such as <ï> for an uncertain reading of <i>. This is not to be confused with an expunction mark (cf. p. 83 below). If not even an attempt at a reading seems possible to the editor, a dot <.> is written in lieu of the undecipherable letter. If the number of undecipherable letters cannot be specified, three dots – i. e. a horizontal ellipsis – are put in curly brackets <{...}> (e. g. in Nievergelt 2007, 2009a) or square brackets <[...]> (e. g. in Ernst 2007). Sometimes, the editor cannot even decide whether the scratches are letters or just suspicious-looking creases in the parchment surface. In such cases, one or two question marks are used to indicate the possible presence of one <?> or several <??> further letters or scratches.

Since Nievergelt's (2007) and Ernst's (2007) in-depth analyses of the physical properties of dry-point glosses, it has also become customary to classify the physical nature of the dry-point writing (i. e. cutting the surface vs. mere indentation or presence of pigment or rust residues vs. entry without any traces of discolouring). Since dry-point writing usually does not offer the same palaeographical detail as ink writing, such observations are crucial in distinguishing layers of dry-point gloss activity. Both Nievergelt (2007: 47–59) and Ernst (2007: 71–73) present classificatory systems of dry-point glosses based on their physical properties (see above p. 27). Nievergelt (2007: 70–74) also discusses the special difficulties that dry-point writing presents to the human eye due the often only minute contrast differences that are created by the impressions on the parchment surface.

Since editions that follow Glaser's model are much more refined than the list-like editions that were customary during the nineteenth and the better part of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., they are necessarily much longer. Where a traditional gloss edition (such as *StSG*, Napier 1900, Meritt 1945 or even Gwara 1992) would have one line, consisting of a lemma-interpretamentum pair, with perhaps a footnote, the edition of an averagely complex gloss in Glaser (1996), Nievergelt (2007) or Ernst (2007) will easily occupy a page. The OHG dry-point gloss *Rotlahh* on f. 176<sup>v</sup> of München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6272 (*BStK*: 1033–1034 [no. 516])

may serve as an extreme example. The interpretamentum is entered in the right margin and, hence, the corresponding L. lemma of the base text (HIERONYMUS, *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Mathaeum*) is difficult to identify. Meritt (1934: 232) interprets this dry-point entry as two separate glosses, even though there is no space in between, namely OHG *rot* glossing L. *roseo* and OHG *tuhh*-glossing L. *limbo*. He duly lists the lemmata and the interpretamenta in two half-lines with minimum space requirements, so that another two dozens of lemma-interpretamentum pairs can be fitted onto the same page. Meritt relegates some observations about his readings to two short footnotes (1934: n. 61 and n. 62): the first footnote gives a deviating form for the first lemma in the critical edition consulted by Meritt, which reads L. *rufo* instead of L. *roseo* (i. e. PL 208: 24), and the second footnote suggests the expansion OHG *tuhhil* for the partial second interpretamentum OHG *tuhh*-, also referring to two instances of that word in *StSG*. In summary, the edition of this dry-point entry takes up two half-lines and two short footnotes.

In Ernst (2007: 317–322 [no. 39]) the edition of the same dry-point entry runs for five full pages. After describing the appearance of the gloss in detail and discussing readings by former gloss scholars (including Meritt), Ernst presents two different interpretations of the gloss, based on the allocation of the gloss to two different lemmata in the base text. Pairing up the OHG gloss with L. *clamidem coccineam* or perhaps *roseo limbo* (as Meritt suspected), it can be interpreted as a compound or as a nominal group meaning ‘red fabric’ or ‘red coat’. However, in the context of Christ’s crucifixion, pairing the OHG gloss up with either L. *spineam* (which may be corroborated by that word’s physical proximity on the MS page and by a possible *signe-de-renvoi*, consisting of a vertical dry-point bar on top of L. *spineam*) or L. *calamum* (which also features a *signe-de-renvoi*, consisting of the Greek letter φ, though that may perhaps point to a partly legible dry-point entry in the left margin), the gloss could be interpreted as referring to some kind of plant, perhaps ‘buckthorn’ (based on L. *spineus* ‘thorny’, referring to Christ’s crown) or ‘reed’ (based on L. *calamus* ‘reed’, which the soldiers gave to Christ as a mocking symbol of his power).<sup>82</sup> Ernst’s exhaustive treatment of the gloss – of which I have only sketched the bare outlines – shows great erudition and makes for a highly informative read, yet it ultimately leaves us in a state of informed ignorance: we still do not know what the gloss actually means. The range of possibilities has been limited drastically, yet several candidates seem almost equally eligible and it is clear that lexicographers have an easier job incorporating Meritt’s edition rather than Ernst’s in their work.

82 Ernst (2007: 316) presents a diplomatic transcript of that passage showing the position of several suspected *signes-de-renvoi*.

It is to be expected that further OHG dry-point MSS will be identified in the near future and, as Stricker (2009: 1655) points out, it may safely be assumed that the glosses to be found in them will change our knowledge of OHG substantially.

### 2.4.3 Dry-Point Glossing in Old Saxon

OS dry-point glosses have been reported from four MSS so far (cf. Nievergelt 2013: 387). Two MSS were already known in 2005 when *BStK* was published, namely Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Ms. B 80 (*BStK*: no. 104) and Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Ms. F 1 (*BStK*: no. 105). Two further MSS have been identified since. Firstly, Prof. Dr. Nievergelt (2011: 312) reports the existence of ca. 500 OS and OHG glosses (a unspecified number of them entered in dry-point) – in Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár CLMAE 7; an edition remains yet to be published. Secondly, Prof. Dr. Nievergelt tells me that Essen, Münsterschatzkammer Hs. 1 (*BStK*: no. 149), whose dry-point glosses had not yet been completely identified, contains some 50 still unedited OS dry-point glosses.<sup>83</sup> In *BStK*, where both OHG and OS gloss MSS are combined, the OS gloss MSS clearly play a subsidiary role. Recent developments show, however, that further OS dry-point gloss finds are likely to be made, perhaps even in the near future.

### 2.4.4 Dry-Point Glossing in Old Irish

Dry-point glossing in OIr is reported from several MSS, but to date no comprehensive overview of the extent or status of dry-point glossing in Celtic literacy is available and a direct connection between Celtic and OE dry-point glossing practices cannot be discerned. Ó Cróinín (1999: 94) edits dry-point glosses from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 9382 (*CLA* 5: 577), 7 of which “may be Irish”. Ó Néill’s edition (1998, 2000) of the dry-point glosses in the so-called “Codex Usserianus Primus” – Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 55, an early 7<sup>th</sup>-c. gospel book – lists 3 OIr glosses, 120 L. dry-point glosses and 14 other dry-point symbols.

Ó Néill (1998: 2) also mentions three further MSS that supposedly feature dry-point glossing in OIr, namely Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS F. iv. 24, f. 93 (*CLA* 4: 457), St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 904 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 3. 15, but I have not been able to find printed editions of the (potentially OIr) dry-point material of those MSS. Such unverified reports have to be treated with

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<sup>83</sup> Andreas Nievergelt (personal communication, November 11, 2013).

great caution; in the case of the Turin MS, for instance, *CLA* (4: 457) suggests that the dry-point material is L. rather than OIr.

The glosses in the Codex Usserianus Primus are dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. by Bischoff (1954: 197) and, according to Ó Néill (1998: 26, n. 24), the glosses in the Oxford MS date to the second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, Ó Néill sees these two MS witnesses as evidence that there might be an unbroken tradition of dry-point gloss activities spanning five centuries, which leads him to the conclusion “that other Irish witnesses to dry-point glossing remain to be identified” (1998: 2).

### 2.4.5 Dry-Point Glossing in Old Slavonic

A comparatively small corpus of Old Slavonic dry-point glosses has been identified so far in three MSS (cf. Nievergelt 2007: 64–65, n. 11), namely Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Ms. C 78 (cf. Nievergelt 2003; Nievergelt & Schaeken 2003; *BStK*: 1920–1922 [no. 1019b]), Prague, Metropolitní Kapitula U SV. Vita A CLXXXIII (cf. Patera 1878) and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14 008 (cf. *BMS* 1: 90–91). Nievergelt (2007: 65, n. 11) notes that the authenticity of the dry-point material in the Prague MS has been put into question in connection with the suspected forgeries of Old Slavonic and OHG ink glosses in a number of Prague MSS by the Czech philologist Vaclav Hanka (1791–1861). Nievergelt deems forgery of the dry-point glosses to be very unlikely, arguing that the large number of undecipherable dry-point glosses (over 94) would not be in line with forgery.

### 2.4.6 Dry-Point Glossing in East Asia

Pre-modern dry-point glossing is not limited to the European Middle Ages, but it is also reported from East Asian MSS. More than 3,000 Japanese MSS bearing dry-point glosses have been identified since Prof. Yoshinori Kobayashi discovered the phenomenon in 1961.<sup>84</sup> The oldest specimens of this so-called *kakuhitsu* writing<sup>85</sup> identified so far date to AD 749 and the most recent specimens date to AD 1910, spanning more than eleven centuries of continuous dry-point practice. In 1993, Kobayashi and a colleague of his, Prof. Yasukazu Yoshizawa, discovered similar dry-point writing in 16 MSS from Dunhuang (China), now kept in the

84 A short bibliography on the topic (which, considering the rapid development of this field, is unfortunately slightly dated) can be found at the project website “A Dig and an Investigation and a Study of Stylus-Imprinted Writing in Every Place of Western Japan. Development and a Study of a Instrument for Decoding Stylus-Imprinted Characters”, URL: <<http://kaken.nii.ac.jp/d/p/09410111/1999/6/en.en.html>>. Nievergelt (2007: 63, n. 6) also lists a number of publications on the subject.

85 *kakuhitsu* is the Romanization of the Japanese word for ‘stylus’, kanji: 角筆.

British Library, dating from the early 5<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> c. Yoshizawa & Kobayashi (1999: 5) think that the dry-point writing in these Dunhuang MSS was entered by students who were taking notes during a lecture. They also think that these notes may ultimately help to verify the pronunciation of Classical Chinese and give insights into the methods of Buddhist teaching. Yoshizawa even invented an apparatus specifically for the study of dry-point writing, called *kakuhitsu scope*, “which consists of a special lamp, a metallic case, reflectors and filters, and enables the characters to be read and photographed” (Yoshizawa & Kobayashi 1999: 4).

In Korean, dry-point writing is known as *kakp’il* writing (*kakp’il* meaning ‘stylus’ in Korean). The existence of *kakp’il* writing in Korean MSS was only discovered in the year 2000, again by the Japanese scholar Kobayashi. According to King (2010: 219), Kobayashi’s discovery “revolutionized thinking on the history of writing in both Korea and Japan, and has forced scholars to go back and re-examine virtually every single Koryŏ-era [AD 918–1392] hanmun (Literary Sinitic) [i.e. Classical Chinese] text of a canonic Buddhist or Confucian nature for the presence of *kakp’il* [dry-point] *kugyŏl* markings [i.e. annotations that render Chinese more easily understandable for Koreans].” The interest in glossing in general and dry-point glossing in particular has since been rising in East Asia, and King reports that “*kugyŏl* studies have become the ‘final frontier’ of Korean historical linguistics” (*ibid.*).

Since Asian MSS are composed of paper, rather than parchment, the typical Asian stylus looks quite different from the typical European stylus. Asian styli are usually made of wood, bamboo or ivory (never brass, iron or silver) and have a length of about 24 cm. They are 6–10 mm thick and have a pointed end used in writing. Yoshizawa & Kobayashi (1999: 4) report that some of the styli found in Japanese shrines, temples, palaces or museums still showed fibrous remains at their tips, which could be shown to be microscopic scraps of Japanese paper through chemical analysis.

#### 2.4.7 Dry-Point Writing in Post-Conquest England

It appears that the use of the stylus as writing implement in English MSS was also known in the post-Conquest ME period. Oxford, Corpus Christi College 198 (GEOFFREY CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*, AD 1410×1420)<sup>86</sup> contains scribbles

86 A digital facsimile of the MS is publicly available from “Early Manuscripts at Oxford University”. For unknown reasons, the facsimile pictures are slightly out of focus and quite grainy. A sprawling dry-point scribble is visible slanting upwards in the margin of f. 146<sup>r</sup>, but I can only recognize some smudged edges of letter-like strokes. URL: <<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=corpus&manuscript=ms198>>.

that “have mostly been pumiced away in the cleaning process. A few survive in dry point, nearly all illegible” (Manly & Rickert 1940: 98). Unfortunately, Manly & Rickert do not provide examples of scribbles that were still legible, which would allow some tentative conclusions as to what the nature of the connection of these scribbles with the base text might be. In addition to these scribbles, the MS bears a dry-point signature *Burleon* f. 146<sup>r</sup>, which is associated by Manly & Rickert with a prominent London family who had personal ties with Chaucer. Manly & Rickert think the signature represents an owner’s mark, “which looks as old as the text” (1940: 98).

To what extent dry-point writing was still practiced in post-Conquest England has not been investigated systematically so far. Clanchy (1993: 118–120) does not mention dry-point writing in his portrait of ME stylus usage. Hunt (1991), who is aware of the Anglo-Saxon dry-point practices (cf. 1991: 9), does not report any dry-point finds in the numerous post-Conquest MSS that he investigated. We cannot make any statements about the falling out of use of Anglo-Saxon dry-point annotation practices, however. Whether the late use of the stylus in a Chaucerian MS context represents a continuation of the OE practice or whether we have to assume a polygenetic origin, is difficult to assess, as the lack of reports in the literature does not necessarily imply the lack of existence of similar notes in other ME MSS. Since the stylus is still used in connection with wax tablets at the time, the transfer from the context of the wax tablet to the context of MSS seems in any case always a possibility without any need for an Anglo-Saxon model.





### 3. On the History of the Study of Old English Dry-Point Glosses

#### 3.1 Humphrey Wanley

The existence of dry-point writing in Anglo-Saxon MSS was already known in the early days of their study. In the preface of his great *Catalogus* of Anglo-Saxon MSS, published in 1705 as the second volume of George Hickes's *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus*, Humphrey Wanley (1705: 12) briefly discusses the use of the stylus in Anglo-Saxon England:

Præterea, *Styli* sive *Graphii Metallini* usum non nesciverunt Majores nostri *Anglo-Saxones*. Immo Doctissimus ille *Anglo-Saxonum* Rex *Ælfredus* in Præfatione præmissa *Gregorii Magni* Pastoralibus a se versis, singuli Episcopalibus *Angliæ* Ecclesiis cum libro isto *Æstel*, i. e. *Stylum* se ait dedisse. *Stylo* autem ad scribendum in *Pugillaribus* etsi maxime utebantur, nonnulla tamen propria hominum Nomina libro Evangeliorum *Lichfeldensi* S. Ceade dicto, quem Catalogi pag. 281 & 290 descripsi, instrumento isto *Saxonice* inscripta esse notavi. Hæc breviter de *Styli* usu, cujus formam exhibuit *Joan. Jac. Chiffletius*, in libro *Anastasis Childerici Regis Francorum* inscripto, paginis 182 & 194. (Wanley 1705: [xii], authorial italics)<sup>1</sup>

The association of Alfred's *æstel* with the stylus, however, has been put into question by nearly all scholars following Wanley,<sup>2</sup> and the *DOE* does not even include “stylus” in its lengthy list of possible meanings for this puzzling term: “pointer for use in reading, board of a book-binding, book-mark, handle for carrying a manuscript, decoration on the cover of a book, book-cover, book-binding, clasp, lectern, page weight, reliquary, fragment of the True Cross, wax

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1 I. e. ‘Besides, the use of styli – or metal pens – was well-known to our Anglo-Saxon forebears. Indeed, that most-learned king of the Anglo-Saxons, Alfred, in the Preface that is set before his translation of Gregory’s Pastoral Care, says that he has given an *Æstel* – that is a stylus – to each bishop of the English Church along with that book. Although they [the Anglo-Saxons] mainly used the stylus in order to write in their (wax) tablets, I have noticed, all the same, several proper names of people inscribed with such a (dry-point) pen in Old English in the Lichfield Gospels, also known as [the Gospel of] St Chad [i. e. Lichfield, Cathedral Library Lich. 1 [G:269]], which I have described on pp. 281 & 290 of my Catalogue. That much briefly about the use of the stylus, whose form is described by Chifflet (1655: 182 and 194).’ For an even earlier (ca. 1650), but uncertain, report of OE dry-point glosses see below p. 78.

2 Cf. Collins (1985) for a highly informative summary.

tablet for taking notes" (DOE, s. v. "æstel", the list is taken almost verbatim from Collins 1985: 42).

As Wanley already points out, an OE *æstel* is mentioned by King Alfred in his prefatory letter to Wærferth as being one of two objects that he decided to give to each bishop in his realm: A copy of the newly translated OE *Pastoral Care*, on the one hand, and an *æstel*, *se bið on fitegum mancessa*, on the other hand.<sup>3</sup> King Alfred stresses the importance of these two objects by proclaiming: *On ð ic bebiode on Godes naman ðæt nan mon ðone æstel from ðære bec ne do, ne ða boc from ðæm mynstre*<sup>4</sup> (Sweet 1871: 9). Bearing in mind that a copy of the OE translation of GREGORY's *Pastoral care* was an object of quite substantial value, it is difficult to imagine that the accompanying gift would consist of a simple stylus – unless the stylus would have enjoyed some sort of symbolic power, of which, however, no record is extant. In addition to that, we are given a very precise estimation of the value of the unidentified *æstel*, namely 50 mancuses. This is a considerable sum, equivalent to half a pound of gold (Webster 1999: 29), which is more in line with an object like the so-called "Alfred Jewel" – an Anglo-Saxon artefact made of enamel and quartz enclosed in gold, whose function cannot be established with confidence, now held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford – than with a simple piece of metal, such as a stylus. Moreover, Alfred's phrasing suggests that the *æstel* belonged to the book in some unspecified way; again, this is not a property that is in line with a stylus.

While it seems clear that the *æstel* is not a stylus or any kind of writing implement, scholars are still divided over the question what object Alfred referred to. The gloss evidence is inconclusive, unfortunately. In one of the two main witnesses of Alfred's prefatory letter to Wærferth – Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 12[K:30] –, *æstel* is glossed L. *festuca*, but the broad semantic range of that word, given by Page (1987: 15) as "stick, twig, stalk, straw, rod of office, wand", would allow for both a stylus or a book pointer. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the L. glossator knew for sure what this *æstel* actually was. In Ælfric's *Glossary* the word *æstel* (spelling variants are: *æstyl* and *estel*) is listed as a translation of L. *indicatorium* (cf. Zupitza 1880: 314), whose meaning is equally uncertain, though its etymology hints at a pointing function of the mysterious *æstel* rather than a writing function. Collins (1985: 49) argues in favour of a book-cover, seeing a lavish book-cover "as viable candidate for something which shows or points out something, in this case an important book underneath." Page (1987: 16), while analysing the sequence of semantic fields in

3 I.e. 'an æstel, which is worth fifty mancuses'.

4 I.e. 'And I command in God's name that no man take the æstel from the book or the book from the minster'.

Ælfric's *Glossary*, notes that L. *indicatorium* is "surprisingly distant from other book-words in the list, so it is unlikely that an *æstel* is an essential part of the structure of a book, as a book-cover, for instance" and he observes that "*indicatorium* is associated with the chancel (*chorus: chor*) of a church". Combining this information with the notion that the donation of the *æstel* along with the copy of the translated Pastoral Care was meant to boost the quality of priestly teaching in the provinces, it may well be that the *æstel* served a practical function, perhaps being a book pointer of sorts. The possible identification of the "Alfred Jewel" as an example of such an *æstel* seems to be in line with that hypothesis, too (cf. Webster 1999). The remnants of the "Jewel" can then be interpreted as an elaborate handle, with the pointing end broken off; and the iconography of the "Jewel's" enamelled figure, perhaps representing "a personification of Sight or of the Wisdom of God", would be "very appropriate to its supposed function as an instrument associated with the reading and teaching of holy texts" (Webster 1999: 29). There is not enough evidence at the moment to resolve the issue conclusively. However, it can be surmised with a good deal of confidence that the stylus is currently not one of the strong contestants.

While Wanley's identification of King Alfred's *æstel* as 'stylus' is likely to have been misguided, his observation that there are dry-point entries in the "Lichfield Gospels" (Lichfield, Cathedral Library Lich. 1 [G:269]) is the earliest recorded description of dry-point material in an Anglo-Saxon MS in the modern era. Wanley also gives a short edition of his successful readings in his catalogue entry on the "Lichfield Gospels":

Denique, Graphio seu Stylo Metallino, sine Atramento, scripta (cujus generis scripturæ perpauca mihi videre contigerit specimina,) habes, fol. 109 Nomina virorum, Wulfun. Alchelm. & Eadric. fol. 113, b. Nomina fæminarum Berhtfled. Elfred. & Wulfild. (Wanley 1705: 290)<sup>5</sup>

Charles-Edwards & McKee's (2008: 81–82) edition of the dry-point names confirms Wanley's readings and they do not report any further glosses on the respective MS pages (pp. 217 and 226 in their page counting). Other dry-point scribbles that Charles-Edwards & McKee detect on p. 221, however, apparently had escaped Wanley's scrutiny.

I have not encountered other early references to dry-point material, but similar remarks or commentaries on dry-point glossing may well be hidden in early, especially unprinted, resources. Hand-written MS descriptions, compiled

5 I.e. 'Finally, you have the men's names *Wulfun*, *Alchelm* and *Eadric* on f. 109<sup>v</sup> and the women's names *Berhtfled*, *Elfred* and *Wulfild* on f. 113<sup>v</sup>, written with a metal pen or stylus, without ink (I could only see very few specimens of that kind of writing).'

by early researchers, may slumber unpublished in the library archives and they may report observations that have since been forgotten. Therefore, researchers working on a specific MS are well-advised to check for such resources in the respective libraries.

### 3.2 Arthur Sampson Napier

In the 19<sup>th</sup> c. OE glosses attracted major editorial efforts, after Franz Joseph Mone “launched”<sup>6</sup> the subject by publishing a large number of OE glosses from Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 1650 [K:8] (ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*<sup>7</sup>) and from the *Hemeneumata* glossaries in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 1828–1830 [K:9] in his *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und Sprache* (1830: 310–443). Soon to follow were glosses from the “Épinal Glossary” [K:114] (1838), the “Boulogne Prudentius” [2/K:7] (1839), the “Durham Ritual” [K:106] (1840), the “Vespasian Psalter” [K:203] (1843), the “Leiden Glossary” [K:A18] (1845) and the “Erfurt Glossaries” [K:10] (1847).<sup>8</sup> From then on, OE glosses were published quite regularly in various places and their lexicographical material was amply included in Toller’s revision of Bosworth’s *Dictionary (BT)*, published between 1882 and 1889.

The first philological edition of dry-point glosses that I am aware of is Napier’s (1893) collation of the glosses in Salisbury, Cathedral 38 [31/K:378]. His collation has to be read in conjunction with Logeman’s (1891) edition, which had been compiled in a hurry and necessitated a number of corrections and additions. The dry-point material is included in a list of 28 glosses (Napier 1893: 208–209) that Logeman had missed; the dry-point glosses are marked with an asterisk, a practice that Napier continued to maintain in his later, and much larger collection of glosses (1900). Napier only briefly comments on the dry-point glosses. He refers to their size and the visual difficulties that they pose, when he writes:

Dass Logeman die mit einem stilus ohne tinte eingekratzten glossen, die übrigens viel grösser sind als die mit tinte geschriebenen, übersehen hat, ist kein wunder; in den

6 As Lapidge (1992: 45) puts it.

7 I shall follow Gwara’s practice of calling the prose version of Aldhelm’s treatise on virginity *Prosa de virginitate* and the poetic version *Carmen de virginitate*. The literature sometimes uses *De laudibus virginitatis* for the prose version and *De laudibus virginum* for the poetic version.

8 Cf. Lapidge (1992: 46) and Healey (2011: 6–7) for a brief overview.

meisten fallen sind sie nur bei günstiger beleuchtung und sehr genauer beobachtung sichtbar. (Napier 1893: 204)<sup>9</sup>

Napier does not express any opinion about the possibility that there might be more dry-point material that he did not see and he does not comment on whether he encountered further glosses that he could not decipher successfully, either. The near-invisibility of these glosses is unwittingly confirmed by Gwara, who – apparently not aware of Napier’s (1893) additions to Logeman’s (1891) edition – does not mention any dry-point glosses from Salisbury, Cathedral [31 / K:378] in his expansive collection of ALDHELM glosses (Gwara 1993, 2001a and 2001b).

Despite the brevity of his elaborations, Napier already points out a recurring theme in dry-point descriptions: lighting is crucial to make the dry-point material visible. Unfortunately, Napier does not specify what means he had at his disposal to bring about that “favourable lighting” that was necessary to make the dry-point glosses in this particular MS visible. At the period, it was still common practice to have MSS ordered as inter-library loans. Napier mentions that he was allowed to “make use” of the Salisbury MS at the Bodleian Library.<sup>10</sup> Handheld electric torches were not invented until a few years later, and it is not likely that Napier refers to lanterns or similar illumination devices, as their rather diffuse light may not have been of much help anyway. It is then likely that Napier had to rely on good weather and presumably sunshine to aid his reading efforts. It would be highly interesting to know, for instance, whether Napier was allowed to work in direct sunlight. After all, conservational concerns were not as pronounced as they have become in many libraries since then, although considerable differences do exist in conservational practice.<sup>11</sup>

9 I.e. ‘The fact that Logeman missed the glosses entered with a stylus without ink, which are by the way much larger than the ones written in ink, comes as no surprise; in most cases they are visible only in favourable lighting and under very close examination.’

10 Napier (1893: 204, n. 1): ‘Für die liebenswürdige bereitwilligkeit, mit welcher Dean and Chapter meinem wunsche, die handschrift auf der Bodleiana benutzen zu dürfen, nachgekommen sind, spreche ich an dieser stelle meinen dank aus.’ I.e. ‘At this point I express my gratitude to the Dean and Chapter [of Salisbury Cathedral] for their kind promptness in complying with my request to make use of the MS at the Bodleian Library.’

11 The British Library explicitly asks its readers not to make use of protective gloves, arguing that gloves can lead to clumsiness in handling the MSS. Other institutions, on the other hand, insist that their readers use gloves to protect the MS surfaces from sebaceous fingertips.

MS	Napier (1900)	Pages and footnotes where glosses are edited	Quantity
[6/K:54]	no. 18	184–185	40
"	no. 22	190	1
[7/K:61]	no. 4	xxxiii, n. 2(a)	5
[8/K:7*]	no. 61	xxxiii, n. 2(d)	5
[9/K:94]	no. 58	232	3
[16/K:145]	no. 50	xxi (no edition)	unspecified
[19/K:252]	no. 8	xxxiii, n. 2(b)	24
"	no. 8	165, n. 45 and n. 77	2
[20/K:254]	no. 7	157, no. 66b	1
[21/K:266]	no. 36	202	5
[24/K:12]	no. 11	xxxiii, n. 2(c)	3
[27/K:320]	no. 1	115, n. 4449; 116, n. 4450	2

Table 1: Overview of dry-point glosses reported in Napier (1900).

Napier's ultimate collection of glosses is his voluminous *Old English Glosses: Chiefly Unpublished* (1900), in which he published more than 8,500 OE ink glosses from 47 MSS, including a little more than 90 dry-point glosses from 10 different MSS. Concerning the dry-point glosses, he chose to present some of his findings in a rather confusing and involuntarily even obfuscating manner: Some of the dry-point glosses are part of his usual edition consisting of lists of pairs of L. lemmata and OE interpretamenta, some are only mentioned in the footnotes to those editions and others again are mentioned only in his short introductory chapter specifically concerned with dry-point glosses (Napier 1900: xxxiii).

Culling the dry-point glosses from the introduction, editions and footnotes throughout Napier (1900), we arrive at the overview presented in Table 1. Cambridge, CCC 285[6/K:54] is the only MS for which Napier (1900: xxxiii) explicitly signals that he may have been able to decipher all extant dry-point glosses, and indeed, no further dry-point glosses have been reported from that MS since. He expressly does not claim the same for the other MSS:

... but in the case of the other MSS. I gave up the attempt: the deciphering of the scratched glosses was so trying to the eyes, moreover it was so frequently impossible

to read them with certainty, that I preferred to confine myself to the properly written glosses. (Napier 1900: xxxiii)

As a consequence, later researchers were able to identify a substantial number of dry-point glosses in some of these MSS. From Cambridge, CCC 326 [7/K:61] alone, over 600 dry-point glosses were later edited by Meritt (1945), Page (1975b) and Gwara (1993, 1997a). Interestingly, Napier also mentions dry-point glosses in London, BL Cotton Cleopatra C. viii [16/K:145], but he does not edit any of them and, as far I was able to ascertain, no dry-point glosses have been edited from this MS since.

### 3.3 Herbert Dean Meritt

The discovery of OE dry-point glosses by Napier did not succeed in spurring further interest in this type of glosses. Apparently, no-one cared to follow up on Napier's leads and it was not until 1933 that a further edition of dry-point glosses was published by Meritt (1933). Meritt had been scouring European libraries for OE dry-point material in 1932 and 1933 (cf. Meritt 1945: vi), as he was convinced "that new glosses are to be found both in England and on the Continent" (1933: 305). A first result that he presented from this enterprise was Meritt (1933), an edition of 401 OE dry-point glosses in BEDA, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* from London, BL Cotton Tiberius C. ii [17/K:198], of which he later (1945: 6–14 [no. 4]) reprinted a slightly enlarged version to include 406 OE dry-point glosses.<sup>12</sup> After publishing OHG dry-point glosses from 8 MSS that he had discovered accidentally while looking for OE ones (Meritt 1934), Meritt (1936) published an edition of more than 400 OE dry-point glosses in SEDULIUS, *Carmen paschale* and *Epistola ad Macedonium* from Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40], of which he later (1945: 29–38 [no. 28]) reprinted an updated version.

Meritt (1945) eventually published the accumulated harvest of his deciphering efforts in his edition of ca. 2300 OE glosses from 42 MSS, of which 9 MSS contain dry-point material, namely [4/K:40] (Meritt 1945: nos. 28 and 31), [5/K:52] (nos. 27 and 66), [7/K:61] (no. 1), [10/K:95] (nos. 13 and 24), [17/K:198] (no. 4), [19/K:252] (no. 2), [21/K:266] (no. 16), [25/K:293] and [26/K:313] (no. 65).

Meritt devotes a short excursus (1945: viii–ix) to dry-point glosses and briefly outlines some issues surrounding them, especially their visual difficulties. He points out that both a training of the eye and conducive lighting are essential

<sup>12</sup> Meritt (1933: 307) remarks that there are about thirty further (possibly OE) dry-point glosses that were too faint to be read and "a few" (307, n. 7) L. dry-point glosses that he chose to ignore.

and that skimming natural light is often most advantageous. Meritt especially emphasizes the negative effect of electric light, “which throws a sheen on the page” (Meritt 1945: ix) and hence effectually obliterates the faint visual information provided by the dry-point glosses. Comparing Meritt’s (1945) representation of dry-point glosses to more recent dry-point gloss editions like Page (1981), Nievergelt (2007) or Ernst (2007), one cannot help but notice that there are comparatively few doubtful dry-point readings included in Meritt’s account and that he hardly ever expresses uncertainty about any of his readings. In a few places, Meritt insinuates that he did not include all the dry-point material that he encountered in his forays, and hence one may assume that he intentionally skipped doubtful cases.<sup>13</sup> Standing in the OE lexicographical tradition, he never edits L. dry-point glosses, either, which he surely must have encountered and identified as such in order to separate them from OE specimens.

Incidentally, if my identification of London, British Library Royal 15 B. xix [22/K:268] as an OE dry-point gloss MS is correct (see below p. 116), this MS may serve as a reminder that the lack of reports of dry-point glosses for a particular MS must not automatically be taken as evidence that the MS may not yield previously unnoticed material upon further scrutiny on a different day. Meritt (1945: 38–39 [no. 29]) edits 12 OE ink glosses from this MS without mentioning any dry-point material.

Meritt later undertook further journeys to Europe’s libraries to search for OE dry-point glosses. In late 1954 and early 1955, following a lead published in *CLA* (5: 590), he was able to record 67 OE dry-point glosses in GREGORIUS, *Regula pastoralis* from Paris, BN lat. 9561 [30/K:369], which he published in Meritt (1957: 65), also listing the position of 21 further scratches in that MS that he could not decipher. It is also Meritt (1957: 67) who reports an OE dry-point gloss in PRUDENTIUS, *Cathemerinon* from Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale 189 [2/K:7]. He later went on to edit the glosses from that MS (Meritt 1959) to replace the previous, partial and partially faulty editions of the glosses in that MS.

As we can gather from Meritt’s account, he spent several months in the summer of 1958 in English and Continental libraries with the specific purpose of “reading and collecting unpublished Old English glosses” (Meritt 1960: 541).” The results of this campaign were published in Meritt (1961), which records some 344 OE glosses from 17 different MS, of which more than 240 glosses in 8 MSS, namely [24/K:12] (Meritt 1961: no. 1), [32/K:A44] (no. 2), [1/K:287\*]

13 Cf. for instance Meritt (1960: 542): “Manuscript Additional 40 000 in the British Museum [15/K:131] has fifty-two legible scratched glosses”, implying that further scratched glosses were not legible, but unfortunately Meritt does not record their position in the MS.



(no. 3), [15/K:131] (no. 4), [8/K:7\*] (no. 5), [11/K:24] (no. 6), [13/K:121\*] (no. 14) and [18/K:210] (no. 17), are in dry-point.

Apart from his many gloss editions, Meritt contributed to OE lexicology in major ways by revising and supplementing Clark Hall's (1960) *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, including a fair number of dry-point glosses in the supplemental appendix.<sup>14</sup> In addition to that, Meritt was interested in the process of glossing and especially in lexicographically puzzling glosses that resulted from it. He devotes two books (Meritt 1954 and 1968) to questions surrounding the mysteries of a selection of difficult glosses and he can show convincingly that a careful and integral analysis of the gloss evidence can yield unexpected insights.

### 3.4 Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann

From 1933 onwards the palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff travelled through European libraries investigating MSS that were meant to be included in Elias Avery Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* (CLA), later published in 12 volumes from 1934–1971 (cf. Bischoff 1998: vii). While carefully autopsying the relevant MSS to compile his palaeographical and codicological descriptions, Bischoff discovered a substantial number of glosses (both in ink and in dry-point) in a number of the MSS that he studied.<sup>15</sup> He freely shared his discoveries with OHG philologists, but their plans to follow up on his discoveries were foiled at first by the outbreak of World War II (Stach 1950: 11). Although the majority of Bischoff's gloss finds were in OHG, Bischoff also discovered a number of OE dry-point glosses, whose details he shared with Josef Hofmann in the mid-1930s (cf. Hofmann 1963: 27–29). Hofmann, a librarian by trade, had set out to investigate the corpus of ancient Würzburg MSS systematically already in the 1930s, but it was only in 1963 that his impressive investigation was published. It includes OE dry-point glosses from 5 MSS in German libraries, all of them quite ancient and directly or indirectly connected to St Boniface's mission to Germany, namely [1/287\*], [12/A41], [13/K:121\*], [14/K:98\*] and [34/K:400]. Interestingly, all 5 MSS also feature very early OHG dry-point glosses; in fact, one of them – the “Maihingen Gospels” [1/K:287\*] – is considered to contain some of the most ancient extant specimens of OHG glossing (cf. below). Incidentally, Hofmann (1963: 29) states that he only examined the MSS in the libraries at Würzburg, Fulda, Harburg

14 The supplement includes the glosses published in articles and monographs up to and including Meritt (1961); the glosses from that last publication without page references, though.

15 Cf. Stach (1950) for a concise overview.

(later in Augsburg), Karlsruhe and Wien in person. This means for our purposes that his OE dry-point readings from Kassel [13/121\*] and Köln [14/98\*] only rely on Bischoff's notes.

It was probably also Bischoff who detected the OE dry-point glosses in Paris, BN lat. 9561 [30/K:369] and in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394, Part IX [32/K:A44], as these glosses were mentioned in *CLA* before they were later edited by Meritt. Much later, when *CLA* had long been completed, Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992) edited OE dry-point glosses from St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2/1 [33/K:–]. I have not been able to ascertain which part of the actual work on *CLA* was undertaken by Bischoff, but there is the possibility that Bischoff did not autopsy many of *CLA*'s MSS in Great Britain. As mentioned above, Bischoff took up work on *CLA* in 1933, and *CLA* Volume 2 was published in 1935. There is evidence that Bischoff autopsied at least a few MSS in Oxford<sup>16</sup> and in Ely<sup>17</sup> before World War II, but it may well be that the majority of the work in the British libraries had already been finished by the time Bischoff was hired.<sup>18</sup>

### 3.5 Raymond Ian Page

Serving as Fellow Librarian of Corpus Christi College's Parker Library in Cambridge from 1965 to 1991, R.I. Page was very well acquainted with Cambridge MSS and edited a large number of dry-point glosses from them. Like Napier and Meritt a very gifted and tenacious philologist, he united two further properties that allowed him to investigate dry-point glosses very successfully.

It was beneficial that – being the librarian himself – he could choose at will the time of his autopsies, waiting for “favourable lighting conditions which England cannot always guarantee” (Page 1975a: 151). He could also interrupt

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- 16 Stach (1950: 15) lists three MSS from the Bodleian Library in Oxford, in which Bischoff had encountered OHG gloss material that he reported to Baesecke for subsequent examination: Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium T. 1. 26 (*BStK*: 1379–1380 [no. 722 (II)]); Laud. misc. 135 (*BStK*: 1404–1405 [no. 734]) and Laud. misc. 429 (*BStK*: 1409 [no. 738]).
  - 17 Stach (1950: 13) lists two MSS in the possession of J. W. Hely-Hutchinson, Ely, formerly belonging to the Philipps collection (nos. 816 and 16,395), now Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center HRC 29 (*BStK*: 158–159 [no. 18]) and Cambridge, King's College MS 52 (*BStK*: 299–300 [no. 87]).
  - 18 Unfortunately, there is no clear indication about the exact extent of Bischoff's contribution to *CLA*, Volume 2 (Great Britain and Ireland). Lowe writes in the introduction to that volume: “Special thanks are due to the assistants who have had an immediate share in the preparation of this volume, to a great extent my collaborators on the first. I may not name them all, but my indebtedness to Dr. Bischoff is in a class by itself: his wide acquaintance with Latin manuscripts and his keen palaeographical eye have been valuable aids to the enterprise” (*CLA* 2: [xvii]).

and continue his work on the Parker MSS freely, making lexicographical, phonological, morphological investigations before continuing his work on a difficult reading. If his eyes were weary, he could take a break and work on something else entirely before returning to the MS in his own time, and he could get acquainted with the MS's idiosyncrasies to his heart's content. He could work in the first hours of the morning or late in the evening – when the sunlight is of an altogether different quality than during the day – or during the closing time of the library, if the weather was especially favourable. Again being the librarian, he was allowed to sit wherever the library offered the best conditions, and<sup>19</sup> he could use magnifying and lighting equipment at his own discretion:

Scratched glosses are hard enough to read even in favourable circumstances. In the past those in CCCC manuscripts have been rendered more troublesome by the firmness with which, until later and more degenerate times, the college authorities resisted innovation. Only comparatively recently did electricity dispel the library's darkness: earlier readers had to make the best of such natural light as the fenland day afforded. [...] If I read more than [H.D. Meritt] did it is because I have more opportunity for leisured study of the manuscript and better lighting conditions for the glosses. (Page 1973: 210)

Page noticed the difference in working conditions quite markedly while working on Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21 [11/K:24] as a guest in the University Library: “the diffused light of the University Library manuscript room is unhelpful to this type of research” (Page 1981a: 110). Surely, the fact that he was not at liberty to choose his working conditions in the neighbouring library played an important role in that verdict.

Secondly, his intimate knowledge of Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions provided a great awareness of visual issues surrounding deformational writing. His acclaimed introductory study on Anglo-Saxon runology, *Introduction to English Runes*, appeared just about the same time he started to work on OE dry-point glosses (i.e. Page 1999 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.], 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1973), so his eyesight must have been in peak shape. Such training is quite essential, especially for faint dry-point material, where the eyes have to distinguish between relevant structures (such as letter forms) and irrelevant structures (i.e. parchment surface itself).

Over a period of some ten years, Page edited dry-point glosses from eight Cambridge MSS and one British Library MS, of which I can only give a short overview here.

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19 Provided the MS was back on its shelf whenever the Caius representatives were invited to inspect the Parker Collection's integrity (cf. Page's obituary in *The Telegraph*, 21 March 2012).

(i) Page's first edition of 1973 presents 121 previously undocumented glosses from Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40] and makes a number of comments on Meritt's (1936) and (1945) editions of the glosses in that MS.

(ii) Page's second (1975a) dry-point gloss contribution is hidden in an article, in which Page expounds on several points of criticism about the *DOE*'s preparations and editorial decisions as presented in Cameron et al. (1970) and Frank et al. (1973). By way of arguing that editions ought to be brought to modern standards before the work on the *DOE* should proceed, Page also briefly touches upon the subject of OE dry-point glosses and presents a small group of previously unedited OE dry-point glosses from Cambridge, CCC 285 [6/K:54].

(iii) Page (1975b) edits 180 dry-point glosses from Cambridge, CCC 326 [7/K:61] as an addition to those edited by Napier (1900) and Meritt (1945).

(iv) Page (1979) edits OE dry-point glosses from Cambridge, CCC 57 [3/K:34], CCC 173 [4/K:40] and CCC 223 [5/K:52]. He also discusses the discipline of OE gloss studies, and in comparing it to OHG gloss studies tries to show that OE gloss scholars are comparatively unenterprising compared against the "adventurous" (Page 1979: 27) OHG gloss scholars.

(v) In Page (1981a), the focus lies on MSS outside the Parker Library, and Page edits dry-point glosses from Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 2. 30 [9/K:94] and O. 2. 31 [10/K:95], Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21 [11/K:24] and London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, ff. 170–224 [18/K:210]. Referring to Page (1975a), Page (1981a: 105) explains that he had picked these four MSS to demonstrate that more texts were unprinted than the editors of the *DOE* project had allowed for. From all four MSS OE dry-point glosses had been previously edited (in Napier 1900, Meritt 1945, Ker 1957 and Meritt 1961) and Page manages to add another 35 OE dry-point glosses, some of them only partially decipherable, though.

(vi) Page (1982) adds a few readings to his (1973) edition of OE dry-point glosses in Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40] and concludes with "a plea for a more varied approach to Old English glossing" (1982: 160). Ironically, the approach taken in his (1982) edition is rather confusing, even though Page shows that he is keenly aware of the qualities of a good edition. For instance, Page mentions the previous work done on these glosses only indirectly, forcing the reader to collate previous findings to make sense of the edition.

After 1982, Page's scholarly interests seem to have moved away from editing dry-point glosses, but he addresses more general glossographic topics in two later articles.

(vii) Page (1992) critically discusses the feasibility of a printed corpus of Anglo-Saxon glosses in imitation of *StSG* and *TPH*, which are both so central to the study of OHG and OIr glosses, respectively. Page entertains many reservations,

among which dry-point glosses and their very specific difficulties feature quite prominently.

(viii) Finally, Page (2001) demonstrates that there is great need for a more varied approach to OE glossing and syntactical marking, and addresses functional and contextual issues that he considers to have been neglected so far in the study of OE glossing. Among other things, Page (2001: 219–228) also discusses the OE dry-point glosses in Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21 [11/K:24].

One cannot help but notice that while Page explicitly considers the list-like representations chosen by Napier and Meritt<sup>20</sup> to be inadequate for the complexities offered by the glossing as we encounter it in the MSS (cf. 1979: 28–29), he himself did not succeed in presenting a real alternative to it, adhering himself to L.-OE word-lists in the majority of his editions. Page was definitely interested in experimenting (cf. 1979: 28, n. 5) with new manners of presentations and he was acutely aware of the problems surrounding more abstract ways of presenting the data: “The danger is overkill, if the presentation is so complex that it makes it hard for an individual to find the particular information he is interested in” (Page 1992: 94). His (1979) edition, which deviates most from the conventional list-like representation, however, is very difficult to unravel, and establishing basic facts about this particular edition – such as how many OE dry-point glosses are recorded in it – turns into a time-consuming venture, which he was probably very well aware of: “It is easy enough to criticize existing publications of the Anglo-Saxon glosses, but hard to suggest improvements that can be put into practice” (Page 1982: 154). Furthermore, his own editions do not live up to the standards that he proposes in Page (1992: 85). Yet, Page successfully showed many ways in which the approaches of his “more adventurous” OHG gloss scholar colleagues could be applied to the study of OE glossing.

### 3.6 Scott Gwara

Scott Gwara published a whole number of articles concerned with OE dry-point glossing in the 1990s. Ultimately based on his unpublished dissertation (1993) and eventually culminating in his critical edition of ALDHELM’S *Prosa de virginitate* (2001),<sup>21</sup> Gwara’s work represents a ground-breaking approach to OE glossing in two ways. On the one hand, it investigates all glosses added to all extant copies of a particular text and, on the other hand, it does so by considering

20 Page (1979: 28–29), explicitly exempts Meritt’s (1959) edition of the OE Prudentius glosses in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun. 189 [2/K:7] from his criticism, however.

21 A major update over Ehwald’s (1919) critical edition of Aldhelm’s complete works with respect to *Pdv*.

L. and OE glossing of equal importance.<sup>22</sup> The result is a dizzyingly impressive collection of gloss material taken from no less than 17 MSS. Some of the *Pdv* MSS feature almost 10,000 L. and OE glosses, which make for an exceedingly high ratio of glossed words, bearing in mind that the text of ALDHELM's *Pdv* is only about 20,000 words long (Gwara 1994: 19). The unusually dense glossing of some of the MSS can be attributed both to the apparent popularity of *Pdv* and to the lexical challenges of ALDHELM's prose, characterized by an exceptional preponderance of arcane words. This so-called "hermeneutic style" (cf. Lapidge 1975 and Gwara 1994: 18) typically involves difficulties such as "archaisms, graecisms, neologisms of obvious paternity, poeticisms, obscure compounds, terms with shifted senses and metaphorical catachresis" (Gwara 1996a: 86) that were challenging even to well-trained medieval readers, who then used glosses to facilitate their reading. While some of the glosses in the MSS in question may be original glosses, entered spontaneously by a particular reader, it can be shown for a large number of glosses that they must have been copied from existing glosses in other MSS. The ensuing stemmatic relationships between the various MSS – with regard to both the base text and the glosses – have been attracting much scholarly attention for a long time.<sup>23</sup> As a consequence, ALDHELM gloss MSS are the best-studied group of gloss MSS within the wider area of the OE occasional glosses and it may therefore not be entirely coincidental that our knowledge of dry-point glossing in ALDHELM is more complete than for any other L. author. Among the 17 MSS of ALDHELM's *Pdv* included in Gwara's critical edition, no less than 14 MSS feature OE glosses and 1 MS features OHG glosses (Gwara 2001a: 83; 189–190). Half of the 14 *Pdv* MSS glossed in OE feature OE dry-point glosses and Gwara published treatments of their respective editions and descriptions of the relevant MSS in several publications throughout the 1990s.

Gwara (1996b: 111–121) presents OE dry-point discoveries from London, BL Royal 5. E. xi [19/K:252], and in Gwara (1997a: 211–236) OE dry-point finds from Cambridge, CCC 326 [7/K:61] are edited. Interestingly, both editions are substantially enlarged over the compilations presented in Gwara (1993: 870–905). That means Gwara was able to see more dry-point glosses after he had finished his PhD thesis and had undertaken further research on the MSS themselves. For

22 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 365 Helmstadiensis is explicitly (Gwara 2001a: 75) not included, because it is a copy of Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. F. 21. Also, Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 235, ff. 30<sup>r</sup>–36<sup>r</sup> (BSIK: 1600–1601 [no. 836k]) and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. f. 67 (BSIK: 1877–1878 [no. 992]) are not included; perhaps Gwara was not aware of them (they are not even mentioned in the index codicum).

23 Cf. Napier (1900) and Ehwald (1919) for early examples; cf. Richter (1996), apparently not entirely aware of Gwara's work (cf. Gwara 1999: 821), for a comparatively recent example.

the OE dry-point glosses in both MSS he notices a large number of correspondences to ink and dry-point glosses in other *Pdv* MSS. Gwara concludes that at least some of the OE dry-point glosses in the Royal MS must have been copied from Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 1650 [K:8], and about one third of the dry-point glosses in CCCC 326 [7/K:61] “coincide precisely with glosses in other *Pdv* MSS, mainly Brussels 1650 [K:8] and Digby 146 [27/K:320]” (Gwara 1997a: 207). As Gwara follows the time-honoured (albeit often disadvantageous) tradition in the study of OE glossography not to include previously edited glosses in an edition, he has to list the correspondences for the previously edited dry-point glosses of that MS separately (Gwara 1996b: 107–109 and 1997a: 208–210).

The practice of printing only new discoveries in OE gloss editions and referring to previously edited material merely by general reference saves space and hence printing costs, but it entails severe disadvantages over integral editions, especially when it comes to dry-point glosses. In order to get an overall picture of the glossing in London, BL Royal 5. E. xi. [19/K:252] we have to collate no fewer than 5 editions (Napier 1900, Meritt 1945, Robinson 1965, Toon 1985 and Gwara 1996b). The readings of ink glosses are usually quite certain and it is only rarely that an editor will disagree with his predecessors in a later edition. From the strictly lexicographical point of view, re-printing such glosses, after they have already been conclusively dealt with, would merely constitute an unnecessary redundancy. From the point of view of glossography, however, the additional information gained from the position, colour, size, hand etc. of the various glosses is fragmented to a degree where it becomes very difficult to reassemble. This is especially problematic with dry-point glosses, as they are especially prone to misidentification and non-identification of individual letter forms. It is necessary for dry-point gloss scholars to confirm or disconfirm previous readings; otherwise, our knowledge of the dry-point glosses remains dangerously static, because the readings do not become consolidated in the process. Such confirmations do take place (cf. Gwara 1997a: 205, n. 24), but if the glosses of a certain MS are not re-edited comprehensively, they have to be combined in careful and time-consuming manner with the existing editions to form a coherent picture. For instance, there is Gwara’s (2001b) integral edition of ALDHELM’s *Pdv* glosses, which also includes the OE glosses of London, BL Royal 5. E. xi [19/K:252] in its apparatus; but the comments of the various gloss scholars that contributed to our understanding of these glosses have to be traced back carefully without the guidance of explicit references. The already slow build-up of our knowledge about the glossing in a particular MS is thus unnecessarily slowed down even further. Notwithstanding these petty complaints, Gwara’s work on ALDHELM, *Pdv* shows great philological skill, and it is definitely highly commendable that Gwara carefully prints glossed lemmata



with yet undeciphered interpretamenta, hoping that others may decipher them some day (e.g. Gwara 1996b: 145).

Gwara's industrious work on the glossed *PdV* MSS also produced a number of previously unedited ink glosses and Gwara continued to make OE dry-point discoveries during his continued work on the MSS over many years. The lonely OE dry-point gloss in London, Lambeth Palace MS 200 [23/K:-] may serve as an example: No vernacular glossing is reported from that MS in Gwara (1993) and (1997c), but Gwara (1999) and (2001) report a single OE dry-point gloss, which must have leapt to Gwara's eyes sometime in between. Consequently, the MS must be treated as an OE gloss MS and ought to be furnished with a Ker number in due course.

### 3.7 Minor Contributions by Other Researchers

Over the years, several scholars added their share to our knowledge of OE dry-point glossing by publishing reports of new finds.

Craster (1923) edits *De raris fabulis* from Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572 [26/K:313] and deciphers 8 dry-point glosses, 6 of which he considers to be OE; the other two he identifies as Brittonic. He does not discuss the forms and simply lists them alongside their lemmata. The Bodley MS had been known to be a gloss MSS by virtue of some 140 Brittonic ink glosses noticed as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> c. by Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, who catalogued the MS ca. AD 1650 in a hand-written catalogue (preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Langbaine 5). Langbaine mentions both Brittonic and OE glosses in the MS ("alicubi etiam Saxonica", i.e. 'occasionally also in Old English'), but there are no OE ink glosses in the MS. Hence, Craster (1923: 136) concludes that Langbaine's description could only refer to the demonstrably OE dry-point glosses that Craster edits. If so, Langbaine's report would be the earliest report of OE dry-point glosses that I am aware of at the moment. It would also mean that Langbaine thought the presence of dry-point glosses to be so common that he did not feel it was necessary to point out this circumstance. On the other hand, it may also be the case that Langbaine erroneously identified some of the Brittonic ink glosses as OE.

Robinson (1965: 304–305) mentions 10 previously unedited dry-point glosses from London, BL Royal 5. E. xi [19/K:252]. He discusses one of the glosses in detail, giving the L. context in full. The other 9 glosses are listed as lemma/interpretamentum pairs in a footnote.

Toon (1984) presents a list of MSS from the British Library, which he explicitly searched for dry-point glosses. Toon reports having deciphered dry-point gloss-



es from several MSS (see below), but he does not edit his findings, except for a handful of previously unedited dry-point glosses from British Library Royal 5. E. xi, f. 9<sup>v</sup> [19/K:252] (cf. Toon 1984: 324–325). He prints a kind of diplomatic transcript of this MS page and indicates the OE interpretamenta above their L. lemmata, including readings from other MSS. I tried to establish whether he published his other findings somewhere else, but I have not been able to identify any printed editions of this material so far.

Morrison (1987) edits 10 dry-point glosses in GREGORIUS, *Regula pastoralis* from Paris, BN lat. 9561 [30/K:369] and deciphers 9 glosses that were mentioned as undecipherable by Meritt (1957). He also lists some further undecipherable glosses that he noticed. He explicitly adheres to Page's (1979: 29) directive about how to edit dry-point gloss material; he lists: folio number, line number, L. context with lemma typeset in italics, a reference to PL 77, the OE interpretamentum and a short commentary on legibility issues (if present). He states that he deciphered the glosses during three brief visits to the MS room in early Spring and Summer of 1985. Interestingly, he stresses that he "relied exclusively on day-light", without specifying whether this was a conscious decision or due to some specific practical exigency.

Rusche (1994) edits 160 dry-point glosses and gloss fragments to 153 lemmata from New Haven, Beinecke Library 401 [24/K:12] (ALDHELM, *Carmen de virginitate*). He distinguishes six hands by considering the physical nature of the glosses carefully and dates them on palaeographic grounds. He concludes that the ink glosses to the same lemma as dry-point glosses probably post-date those in dry-point, because the dry-point glosses would not have been added if the ink glosses had already been there. Rusche's (1994) edition follows the traditional layout, by giving folio number and line number, L. lemma, OE interpretamentum with letters A to E denoting the hands of the glossators and a reference to Ehwald's (1919) critical edition of ALDHELM's *Carmen de virginitate*. Discussion of individual glosses is relegated to endnotes. Parallel glossing from other MSS is not indicated systematically.

McGowan (1998), on the one hand, reports 11 previously unedited OE dry-point glosses from London, BL Royal 13 A. xv [21/K:266]. The 7 OE dry-point glosses that he reports from London, BL Royal 5 E. xi [19/K:252], on the other hand, had already been published by Gwara (1993 and 1996b), when McGowan noticed them "under afternoon natural light conditions" (McGowan 1998: 166, n. 3) in 1997. Gwara's readings differ for 4 of those 7 glosses; sometimes signif-

icantly: McGowan's first gloss to L. *simulque*, for instance, which McGowan renders as OE *þo*, is rendered as OE *7 <s>a* by Gwara (1996b: 111 [no. 3]).<sup>24</sup>

Falileyev & Russell (2003) investigate the dry-point glosses in *De raris fabulis* from Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572 [26/K:313]. They consider the dry-point glosses to be exclusively L. or OE, denying earlier claims by Craster (1923, see above) that some of the dry-point glosses may be Brittonic. Their edition consists of folio number (no line numbers), interpretamentum, lemma and a sort of diplomatic transcript of the space around the dry-point glosses (especially showing the presence of ink glosses in relation to the dry-point glosses). No L. context is given and the forms are discussed only fleetingly.

### 3.8 The Representation of Dry-Point Glosses in *DOE* and *DOEC 2009*

The *Dictionary of Old English (DOE)* – continuously published in microfiche form since 1986 and online since 2007 – has been the most important lexicographical project in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies in the last four decades. It aims at defining the vocabulary of the OE language in its entirety and its compilation is based on a digital text corpus – currently released in TEI-P5 conformant XML files as *Dictionary of Old English Corpus (DOEC 2009)*, available both on CD-ROM and online (by subscription). *DOEC 2009* aims at including one copy of each text surviving in Old English. Hence, the inclusion in the *DOEC 2009* is essential for lexicographical items such as dry-point glosses to form part of the most up-to-date compilations about the OE language. In general, we can say that dry-point glosses are treated like ink glosses in the *DOEC 2009* and if they were published in editions up to ca. the 1960s, they are usually included in the *DOEC 2009*, albeit not always accurately. If they were published in the 1970s or later, they are usually not included in the *DOEC 2009*.

The inclusion of dry-point material in a text corpus like the *DOEC 2009* is necessarily fraught with difficulties due to the apparent incompatibility of the nature of dry-point writing with the unified representation of written material in a text corpus.<sup>25</sup> Information about doubtful readings of individual letters or

24 The gloss can be found on f. 8<sup>r</sup>, not “8<sup>v</sup>” as printed by mistake in McGowan (1998: 166); in fact, f. 8<sup>v</sup> is empty, as I was able to verify in the reading room of the British Library in July 2010.

25 Hence, it goes without saying that what follows is in no way meant to disparage the *DOE*'s impressive achievement of accumulating the editions of all published OE texts in over 3,000 XML-files. Anyone who tries to collate Logeman's (1891) and Napier's (1893) edition will immediately notice what a mind-boggling exercise this turns out to be. Mul-

indications about further unidentified letter forms cannot be retained in order to conform to the structure of the corpus. Just to give one example, where many more might be given: Napier's (1893: 208) very first edition of OE dry-point glosses records – amongst many ink glosses – the 6 dry-point glosses from Salisbury, Cathedral 38 [31/K:378] shown in Table 2.

Folio	L. lemma	OE interpr. in Napier (1893)	Remarks in Napier (1893)	OE interpr. in DOEC 2009	ID in DOEC 2009
f. 15 <sup>r</sup>	<i>scyllam</i>	<i>sandhri</i>	Read: <i>sandhricg</i>	<i>sandhri</i>	T260 600 027 800
f. 17 <sup>v</sup>	<i>internitionis</i>	:byldam (?)	very indis- tinct	<i>byldam</i>	T260 600 027 282
f. 17 <sup>v</sup>	<i>ambronis</i>	<i>gif::</i>	Read: <i>gifres</i>	<i>gif</i>	T260 600 027 283
f. 26 <sup>r</sup>	<i>nativitas</i>	<i>acen</i>	Read: <i>acennednes</i>	<i>acen</i>	T260 600 027 285
f. 27 <sup>v</sup>	<i>glute</i>	<i>li</i>	Read: <i>lime</i>	<i>li</i>	T260 600 027 286
f. 28 <sup>r</sup>	<i>tropicus</i>	<i>tac</i>	Read: <i>tac- niendlic</i>	<i>tac</i>	T260 600 027 287

Table 2: The dry-point glosses reported in Napier (1893) and their inclusion in the DOEC 2009.

The colons in Napier's edition are meant to indicate the number of letters that were visible to him, but that he could not identify with confidence. For five of the six merographic dry-point glosses Napier was able to find a fitting expansion for the gloss as he encountered it in the MS. The gloss OE *gif::*, for instance, can justifiably be expanded to OE *gifres* 'glutton (m. gen. sg.)', as it perfectly matches L. *ambronis* 'glutton (m. gen. sg.)'. Only being given the truncated form, however, Napier's successful expansion apparently escaped the *DOE*'s editors' attention, as the *DOE* (s.v. "gifer") does not quote this gloss in its citations, only recording 2 occurrences from "Soul and Body" in the "Vercelli Book" (Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare CXVII [K:394]). It seems that OE *gif* as recorded in *DOEC* 2009 was not recognized for what it merographically stands for. Napier could not make sense of the gloss :byldam (?) and unless further letters can ever be deciphered, this gloss will probably remain a mystery.

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tipling these or similar difficulties by 3,000, one can grasp a sense of the industriousness that was required to compile the *DOEC* 2009 as it stands.

In a dry-point gloss edition such as Napier (1893), different layers of uncertainty can be discerned: Firstly, there are the obvious uncertainties concerning the letters represented by <:>, as we do not know what they stand for. Secondly, we do not know whether the convincing expansions that Napier suggests really represent the glossator's intentions. Finally, there is the possibility that Napier simply was not lucky and missed some letters that were virtually invisible that day. By reducing the complexity of the editions to simple strings, as required by *DOEC* 2009, the gloss evidence necessarily has to be stripped of its contextual baggage, which may result in a misinterpretation of the material. In the early days of the planning for the *DOE*, Page (1975a: 147) saw in this process a dichotomy between "New World" and "Old World" approaches to OE lexicography. The former faction pressing forward to get the project going, accepting the possibility that gloss evidence may at times be oversimplified; and the latter faction concerned "with the progress from manuscript to printed page and from computer print-out to dictionary form" (*ibid.*) and hence preferring further careful study of the MS evidence, first. Page (1975a: 151) also warns that dry-point glosses are a "specific and tough problem" in that connection.

The order in which the various gloss items are included in *DOEC* 2009 also does not reflect the order in which they occur in the MS; it rather reflects the sequence of editions that were considered. The information given in the XML file <T26060.xml> is very dense, bordering on the cryptic, when it states: "Logeman: cited by line no. assigned by DOE, following lineation of ed.; Napier: cited by gloss no. following ed." What is meant is that the first 277 entries correspond to Logeman's (1891) edition (who counts 323 word forms in his edition), with Napier's (1893) corrections woven into it. Napier's additions (1893: 208–209 [IV]), however, are added at the end as nos. 278–305, even though originally they are intermingled with the other glosses. The result does not always consistently represent the cumulative information contained in the editions, though. Cf. <T26060001500>, for instance, where *DOEC* 2009 has *Doh*, but Logeman (1893: 28 [no. 18]) has *dohχ* and Napier (1893: 206 [no. 18]) has *dohx*. Incidentally, Gwara (2001b: 102 [l. 164]), whose findings are not yet included in the *DOEC* 2009, confirms the reading *dohx*.

Misunderstandings can also arise from wrong interpretations of the information contained in the editions. As was pointed out above (cf. p. 56), a dot below a letter in OHG dry-point gloss editions is typeset to indicate an uncertain reading. Hence, Hofmann (1963: 60) edits the dry-point gloss OE *driara* to L. *underorem* from f. 4<sup>v</sup> in Würzburg, UB M. p. th. f. 79 [34/K:400], and the form is included in *DOEC* 2009 as a normalized form *driara* without the dot below

the first <a>.<sup>26</sup> It appears that the *DOE*'s editors, in turn, consulted Hofmann's edition and encountered the diacritic dot below the first <a> of *driara*, but apparently they misinterpreted it, as the corresponding dictionary entry now reads (*DOE* s.v. "drēor (2.)": "OccGl 78.3 5: *undē rorem driara* (perh. with expunction mark below first *a*; from ISID. Synon. 1.16 *nullus præbet mihi vel modicum undæ rorem*)" (authorial bold print and italics), when in fact it would be more appropriate to state that "the reading of the first *a* is doubtful." The damage done here is negligible and the editors marked their uncertainty about the meaning of the dot, but let it be noted here that the dot is not in the MS (at least not if we rely on Hofmann's edition) and hence must not be understood as an expunction mark.

Due to their visual properties, dry-point glosses run an aggravated risk of being misinterpreted or being ignored altogether in an electronic corpus, such as the *DOEC* 2009, even if they have been printed in an edition. Researchers cannot verify readings that they encounter in the editions, unless they consult the actual MS in the reading room, which may be thousands of kilometres away, because dry-point writing usually does not show up in digital facsimiles or microfilms. Dry-point gloss editors often have to employ means of indicating degrees of uncertainty in their readings, such as dots below individual letters to indicate a tentative reading or dots instead of letters to indicate the estimated number of undecipherable dry-point scratches. Since there is no established standardized set of such symbols for doubtful readings in Anglo-Saxon studies, applied diacritics may be misinterpreted if the edited glosses are later studied outside the context of gloss editions. Dry-point glosses are generally included in the *DOEC* 2009, but there are significant gaps, especially when it comes to the representation of more recent dry-point gloss editions, such as Page (1975a, 1981a, 1982), Gwara (1993, 1997, 1998a, 2001b, etc.), Rusche (1994), McGowan (1998) or Falileyev & Russell (2003).

26 Cf. *DOEC* 2009 <T27080.xml> "OccGl 78.3 (Hofmann)". Hofmann in fact imitates the uncial script of the MS, by printing the letters in his edition as capitals, but I do not replicate this here. The dry-point gloss is not visible in the online digital facsimile of the MS. URL: <<http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf79/pages/mpthf79/8.html>>.



## 4. Rationale and Layout of the *Catalogue*

### 4.1 Rationale of the *Catalogue*

The *Catalogue* presented below is meant as a first compilation of OE dry-point gloss MSS. Further MSS will eventually be identified; at least this is what has been happening in OHG studies, ever since Glaser (1996) published a first comprehensive list of known OHG dry-point gloss MSS. I do not see why this should not hold true for OE studies, too, even if it is not foreseeable just now how a similar development should come about, considering the comparatively low research activity in this particular field in recent years. In any case, it is necessary to establish the state of research with respect to OE dry-point glosses. The *Catalogue* includes all MSS for which there is evidence for the existence of OE dry-point glosses; so far, such evidence is available for 34 MSS.

For some of the dry-point material, no edition has been published yet. Napier (1900: xxi) reports dry-point glosses in London, British Library Cotton Cleopatra C. viii [18/K:210] without providing an edition; and in British Library Royal 15 B. xix [22/K:268] I noticed about two dozen dry-point glosses of which I was able to decipher at least one gloss that is definitely OE. Technically speaking, these are not secured OE dry-point gloss MSS, but the existence of these dry-point glosses seems certain enough to me to justify the inclusion of the MSS themselves in the *Catalogue*. I do not include the two MSS reported by Toon (1985), because Toon does not state whether he was able to identify the glosses as OE. They might be L., for all we know.

### 4.2 Material

As was already pointed out above, OE gloss scholars are not as fortunate as their OHG colleagues in having a catalogue of OE gloss MSS at their disposal, analogous to Bergmann and Stricker's *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften* (BStK) published in 2005, with its convenient numbering scheme and its uniformly detailed descriptions of all relevant MSS. Such a catalogue of OE gloss MSS, however, is certainly a great desideratum in the field of OE glossography. In a sense, the *Catalogue of MSS Known to Contain Dry-Point Glosses* presented here may therefore be seen as a first contribution to such a catalogue and, hence, its layout is heavily inspired by Bergmann and

Strickers's *Katalog* (BStK). In nearly any respect, however, the *Catalogue* given here can only mimic the overawing achievement of Bergmann and Strickers's *Katalog*, which compiles data for more than 1,300 MSS in six volumes and whose preparation took more than three decades – ultimately rooting in Bergmann's (1973) preliminary handlist of MSS known to contain OHG and OS glosses. The *Katalog* has proven to be a research tool of tremendous importance for OHG scholars and the sheer amount of individual pieces of information contained in that gargantuan treasure trove is staggering, as the bibliography alone runs for more than 250 pages.

No similar compilation exists for OE gloss MSS and, as a consequence, there is no equivalent of the ever-so convenient "Bergmann-Nummern" available at the moment to designate particular gloss MSS in Anglo-Saxon studies. The so-called "Ker numbers", as established in Ker's (1957) *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, serve a somewhat similar function in Anglo-Saxon studies, but they have a slightly different scope, as they are not limited to gloss MSS. Not all MSS discussed below have such a number, because they were identified as containing OE only after Blockley's (1994) latest update of Ker's *Catalogue*. Ker (1957) catalogues all known MSS that feature OE writing in them.<sup>1</sup>

The numbers of MSS known to contain OE writing have not been rising as dramatically as they have in OHG studies (especially, OHG gloss studies); yet, over the years, additional MSS have been identified and a number of corrigenda and addenda were published in Ker (1976), Blockley (1982) and Blockley (1994). Ker (1957) listed 412 MSS in its main *Catalogue* and 39 Continental MSS in its *Appendix*. Up to and including Blockley (1994) the main *Catalogue* was expanded to include 428 (427)<sup>2</sup> MSS and 45 MSS in the *Appendix*. Since Ker's *Catalogue* has a mainly palaeographical outlook with a focus on Anglo-Saxon England, the Continental gloss MSS are relegated to its *Appendix*, numbered separately and treated only passingly. Even among the Insular MSS, Ker's *Catalogue* entries vary considerably in length and level of detail and the bibliographical references are often limited to the bare basics.

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- 1 Ker's term "Anglo-Saxon" refers to the language used in the various MSS that he catalogues, i. e. Old English. In the present study, I shall refer to the language as "Old English" exclusively. The term "Anglo-Saxon" is reserved for concepts that were upheld and objects that were produced in England after the Adventus Saxonum in the 5th c. and before the Norman seizure of power in the late 11th c., independent of the language in which it was purveyed. All in all, the bulk of written language that has come down to us from Anglo-Saxon England is written in Latin. In the extant MS evidence, Old English plays an important, but still subordinate role.
  - 2 Item "[428.]" in Blockley (1994: 84) is one of the parts of the "Yale Fragment" [24/K:12]. If so, it should not be allotted a Ker number of its own. Rather, it should be treated as a corrigendum to Ker number 12. See also p. 167 below.



Vaciago's (1993) *Handlist* of MSS containing OE occasional and continuous glosses to L. texts is a very helpful distillate of Ker's *Catalogue* where glossography is concerned, as it lists, numbers and indexes the 157 OE occasional and continuous gloss MSS described there. Its entries are very short, though, but sometimes provide updates on information presented in Ker's *Catalogue*. Vaciago explicitly excludes glossaries and hence does not cover the whole of OE glossography. In this regard, Vaciago's *Handlist* follows a different profile than *BStK*, making quantitative comparisons between OE and OHG glossography rather difficult (cf. below). Dry-point glosses are carefully kept apart from ink glosses in Vaciago's (1993) summarizing notes on the MSS, but the dry-point glossing is not discussed or indexed separately.

Gneuss's (2001) *Handlist* with its own numbering scheme has also become an important landmark in Anglo-Saxon studies. It represents a list of all Anglo-Saxon MSS, i.e. all MSS that were produced or physically held in England before AD 1100. Like Ker's *Catalogue*, it has proved to be an indispensable working aid for anyone interested in Anglo-Saxon MS culture. It is not suitable for keeping track of MSS containing Old English, though, as it has a completely different scope, predominantly including purely L. MSS (i.e. without any OE writing in it). A number of Continental MSS, however, have OE dry-point glosses, yet they were not in England before AD 1100 (or afterwards for that matter), hence Gneuss does not list them, accordingly. Moreover, the information compiled in the *Handlist* is highly compressed and usually restricted to library, pressmark, summary of contents, dating, origin and provenance (if available). The datings and the attribution to scriptoria and provenances are not referenced individually, but they seem to reflect a pre-digested analysis of the most up-to-date scholars' opinions and findings. There is no doubt that Gneuss took great care in choosing the information that he included. Yet, it would sometimes be highly preferable if one were to be given a chance to track down the individual dates and localizations to their respective sources. The majority of OE dry-point gloss MSS catalogued below are listed in Gneuss's *Handlist*; their vernacular glossing, however, is not always recorded systematically in it.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, Gneuss (2001) is an absolutely essential resource for the present study, as it provides an excellent basis for the estimation of the availability of a text in Anglo-Saxon times. Consequently, heavy use of it is made below, where the texts that are

3 MSS that feature "Latin text with continuous Old English interlinear gloss, or having substantial sections, or a fairly large number of words, glossed in Old English" are marked with <°> (Gneuss 2001: 11). Sometimes the vernacular glossing is listed – e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Digby 146 [27/K:320]: "most OE glosses s. xi<sup>med</sup>." (Gneuss 2001: 98 [no. 613]) –, but sometimes it is ignored altogether – e.g. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 1945–80 [8/K:7\*] (Gneuss 2001: 39 [no. 119]).

glossed in OE dry-point are discussed. Gneuss's compilation can be used to form ideas about where to look for MSS that might be worthwhile to autopsy for further, yet unedited, dry-point writing, such as dry-point glosses.

Gneuss (2001: 7) holds out the prospect of a *Bibliographical Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, which will eventually supply all that extra information that is left out in the *Handlist*, as it stands, but I do not know how far away from publication that *Bibliographical Handlist* still might be. Already in its present, highly distilled state Gneuss's *Handlist* is teeming with information, though: For instance, the index alone turns out to be extremely informative in itself, as it allows the interested reader to gain an amazing overview of the texts that were known to Anglo-Saxon England. We do not know to what extent the extant Anglo-Saxon MSS, which had to survive the neglect of time in general and the co-ordinated destruction of MS libraries during the Reformation era in particular, represent the entirety of MS production in Anglo-Saxon England. Hence, we must always keep in mind that there is a large error margin to be included in all our observations; yet, Gneuss's *Handlist* is an important contribution to our understanding of the circulation not only of particular texts, but also of particular text genres and text types in that era. When it comes to OE glossography, however, Gneuss (2001) can only be used meaningfully in conjunction with Ker's *Catalogue* or Vaciago's *Handlist*, because glossing in OE is only marked in the MS entries if it is quite substantial; consequently, most OE dry-point gloss MSS are not marked as gloss MSS in Gneuss (2001).

Luckily, a number of MSS with OE dry-point glosses are listed in *BStK*, owing to the fact that OHG glosses have been detected in the same MSS. If this was the case, I made ample use of the literature listed there. I had to notice, however, that the exhaustive listings of literature presented in *BStK* often strongly focus on the OHG glossing (understandably) and that the editors include large numbers of secondary resources rather indiscriminately, with the result that in many cases the reference to the MS in question may turn out to be rather casual and the informational content of the secondary resource quite limited (cf. Ernst & Nievergelt 2009: 256). It was not my aim to replicate this state of affairs, so I often limited myself to include only a representative selection of the secondary literature.

### 4.3 Method

Following up on all the leads that were available to me, I have been able to identify 34 MSS that are known to contain OE dry-point glosses, which was much more than I had anticipated. My initial starting point in identifying the relevant

MSS was Ker's (1957) *Catalogue*. Since its index does not list dry-point material separately, I browsed its pages to spot relevant terms, which was the case for 22 MSS.<sup>4</sup> I then consulted the *Supplement* (Ker 1976) to Ker's *Catalogue*, which included 1 further MS,<sup>5</sup> and Blockley's (1982, 1994) *Addenda*, which yielded another 2 MSS.<sup>6</sup> Following up on the literature I noticed that a number of dry-point gloss MSS were not declared correctly or perhaps simply had escaped the compilers' attention in the *Catalogue*, the *Supplement* and the *Addenda*: the gloss mentioned by Ker (1957: 139) in Köln, EDDB 213 [14/K:98\*] is actually a dry-point gloss; the glosses mentioned by Ker (1976: 130) in Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2 [12/K:A41] are in dry-point as well; Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale 189 [2/K:7] features 1 dry-point gloss, well-hidden in Meritt's (1959) edition; equally well-hidden in the footnotes is Meritt's (1945: 26, n. 1) remark that some of the glosses in Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 2. 31 [10/K:95] are entered in dry-point; well-hidden are also the dry-point specimens in Napier's (1893) edition of the glosses in Salisbury, Cathedral 38[31/K:378] and in Napier's (1900) edition of the glosses in British Library Royal 6. A. vi [20/K:254]. Finally, dry-point glosses in 3 MSS were only discovered after Blockley's (1994) *Addenda* were published: Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992) edit an OE dry-point gloss (perhaps two) in St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2/1 [33/K:–]; Gwara (2001a: 107) mentions an OE dry-point gloss in London, Lambeth Palace 200 [23/K:–] and London, British Library Royal 15. B. xix [22/K:268] features more than 20 dry-point glosses, of which at least some specimens (if not all) are OE (see below p. 163). While the Royal MS [22/K:268] also features OE ink glosses and was therefore already included in Ker's (1957) *Catalogue*, the St. Paul MS [33/K:–] and the Lambeth MS [23/K:–] do not have a Ker number yet.

I also drew upon a large number of other printed resources, none of which, however, records or indexes dry-point glosses explicitly. I searched the few online resources that were known to me, such as the "OEN Bibliography Database"<sup>7</sup> and the "DigiPal" webpage.<sup>8</sup> I also searched the world wide web using terms such as "dry-point gloss", "scratched gloss", "stylus gloss" etc., hoping to chance upon interesting leads. These attempts, however, were not particularly successful, as most of the relevant literature was produced before the Internet

4 Ker usually uses expressions like "scratched" or "scratched with a hard point": [1/K:287\*], [4/K:40], [6/K:54], [7/K:61], [8/K:7\*], [9/K:94], [11/K:24], [13/K:121\*], [15/131], [16/K:45], [17/K:198], [18/K:210], [19/K:252], [21/K:266], [24/K:12], [25/K:293], [26/K:313], [27/K:320], [28/K:349], [29/K:362], [30/K:369] and [34/K:400].

5 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394, Part IX [32/K:A44], based on Meritt (1961).

6 Cambridge, CCC 57 [3/K:34] and Cambridge, CCC 223 [5/K:52], both based on Page (1979).

7 URL: <<http://www.oenewsletter.org/OENDB/index.php>>.

8 URL: <<http://www.digipal.eu/>>.

became wide-spread and it is probably fair to say that OE glossography is not one of the hot topics on the world wide web. Nonetheless, it was during a casual web search that I had a chance hit in an online version of Gneuss (1990), which drew my attention to the St. Paul MS [33/K:–], which was not mentioned in any of the printed resources I had consulted until then.

At ICEHL 2013 in Dublin I presented a preliminary draft of my *Catalogue* as a handlist and subsequently received several leads from the benevolent audience. Following up on these leads, however, no OE dry-point glosses that I had not already been aware of materialized.

#### 4.4 Layout of the *Catalogue*

The *Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain Old English Dry-Point Glosses* is structured similar to Bergmann and Stricker's *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften (BSiK)*, which has proven to be a very valuable resource. This means the *Catalogue*'s base unit is the MS and each entry is divided into two parts: the MS (A) and the glosses in that MS (B). Within both parts, there are various subheadings to allow for a quick access to specific information, which is not based on my own autopsies, but distilled from the literature. The MSS are presented in alphabetic order according to their expanded pressmark, which is composed of the geographical location of the MS repository, followed by the name of the institution that holds the MS, followed by that institution's pressmark. If the pressmark comprises several MS parts, which do not form a historical unit, the codicological unit is specified by page or folio numbers or by its part number. The so-called "Yale Fragment" [24/K:12], which encompasses 9 fragments in 6 different libraries, is labelled (and hence sorted as) "New Haven (US), Yale University Beinecke Library MS 401 and Fragments", because the largest extant part of the original codex is held at New Haven.

Every MS in the *Catalogue* is described along the same set of subheadings. The list of subheadings is slightly expanded from *BSiK*, but mainly encompasses the same information.

## [Consecutive number / Ker number] location, library pressmark

### A) Manuscript

Section A is concerned with the dry-point gloss MS itself, irrespective of the glosses in the MS.

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Nickname(s)    | Alternative names of the MS that I encountered in the literature are given here. Especially the older literature sometimes refers to the library's location plus the title of the author (e.g. "Boulogne Prudentius") or the text (e.g. "Harburg Gospels") contained in the MS, rather than a pressmark.   |
| Type           | The extant document form is described (codex or fragment). I try to distinguish vellum (calf skin) and parchment (other, general quality animal skin, such as sheep skin), but the distinction is not consistently made in the literature and quite often the terms are used as synonyms. Just to quote an example of two such contradictory statements: Köln, EDDB 213 [14/K:98*] is considered to be made of "[v]ellum of the Insular type, well prepared" by <i>CLA</i> (8: 1163), but "Pergament", i.e. 'parchment', by <i>BStK</i> (778 [no. 355]). <i>CLA</i> is certainly more authoritative here, as it distinguishes consistently between parchment and vellum. Especially German literature often subsumes both vellum and parchment under the term "Pergament" (cf. von Ew 1982; Bretscher-Gisiger & Gamper 2009: 230 and others). My suspicion is that the trend is rather in the other direction in English secondary sources, namely to subsume them both under the term "vellum". This uncertainty caused me to quote a source whenever I could. The writing material is indicated; statements on this point have to be taken with a healthy portion of scepticism. |
| Dimensions     | An indication of width and height of the MS pages in mm, as given in the literature, is made. The size of the individual MS pages can vary quite significantly, depending on the bookbinder's procedure; dimensions are therefore to be taken as mere approximate indications.   |
| Leaf numbering | Details of the numbering scheme used in that particular MS (especially pagination vs. foliation) are given. Sometimes, differing numbering schemes are used in the literature; if so, I tried to unravel the confusion ensuing from it.  |
| Codicology     | A rough outline of general aspects of the MS's physical appearance, such as binding and collation are given here.  |

Layout	The number of text columns, the approximate size of the written area (width and height in mm) and the number of lines to the page are quoted. All these parameters can vary throughout a MS and are therefore to be taken as a general statement only.
Script/Dating	Palaeographical information about the script and its estimated age (and hence most often the estimated age of the MS itself) is listed. Datings are always quoted with a reference; more recent and authoritative datings are given preference over older datings that sometime rely on out-dated interpretations. Unfortunately, dating conventions are not always consistently handled in the secondary literature. Statements like “sec. x <sup>1</sup> ” are usually meant to indicate a time-span of 920x940 (cf. Rumble 2009: 30), however, sometimes they may also signify “first half of 10th c.” By referencing the datings, I hope to circumvent the ensuing confusion.
Contents	A list of the contents of the MSS in question; details of descriptions vary quite considerably and this is reflected in the precision of the page/folio indications. L. authors are typeset in small capitals; L. text titles, which are often not original, but used in the secondary literature (such as incipits) in italics.
Origin	Declaration of place (scriptorium) where the MS was produced, with references. Educated guesses encountered in the literature are marked by question marks.
Provenance	Confirmed or inferred whereabouts of the MS throughout its medieval history are delineated here. Post-medieval provenance is not discussed systematically.
Literature	Secondary literature, catalogue entries and other references to the MS as a whole (rather than its glosses) are given here. These lists are never exhaustive, since usually the first few references given include exhaustive lists of secondary literature themselves. Instead, the references given are merely meant to pave the way for the reader’s first steps into the literature available on that specific MS. The references are loosely ordered in descending order of the amount of information that can be gathered from them. The quality of documentation varies considerably, unfortunately. Within the largest collections of OE dry-point gloss MSS, Cambridge MSS are usually impeccably well documented; especially the MS descriptions compiled by Budny (1997) are highly informative and very fascinating to read, too. For London and Oxford MSS, on the other hand, the quality of documentation is highly variable, depending on whether a particular MS forms part of a collection that underwent recent re-cataloguing or not. The publication of an up-to-date catalogue of the Cotton MSS, for instance, has been one of the desiderata of Anglo-Saxon studies in this respect for almost two centuries now, with Planta (1802) still being the most recent comprehensive catalogue.

**Facsimiles** In recent years, many libraries have started to produce photographic facsimiles of their MS collections. Whenever I could identify such an online facsimile, I cited its web address. Only if no such internet resource was known to me, I listed a selection of printed facsimiles or microfiches. For most MSS, further examples could be quoted, but the quality of the facsimiles is quite varied and I restricted myself to easily available examples I was aware of.

## **B) Glosses**

Section B is concerned with the glosses reported from the MS. Following glossographic convention, the gloss material of the MS is presented separately for each base text that is glossed.

### **1, 2, 3 etc.) [author and name of base text]**

The glossed base texts are numbered consecutively; the name of the author and the title of the glossed text are given with a folio/page reference.

**Editions** For each base text an edition is quoted, which has been identified as the most recent major, preferably critical edition of the text in question.

**Translations** If a translation of the base text into English is available, it is referenced here. Sometimes a German or Italian translation is quoted, especially if no English translation could be identified or if another translation provides an interesting alternative to the English translation.

**Literature** One or two secondary works on the L. base text and its textual history are given as a mere point of entry to the textual and literary history of these texts.

### **a, b, c ...) [language of glosses]**

The glosses and their editions (if available) are discussed separately for each language for which glosses have been reported.

**Description** Since glosses are often edited in various places, a quantitative summary of the known corpus of glosses is given here. Determining the exact number of glosses is not always a straightforward affair and often the numbers given have to be understood as careful estimates.

Editions	Under this point, an attempt is made at tracing the history of editions that have been produced on the glosses in question. The numbers of ink, dry-point and pencil glosses quoted here are based on a careful addition of the glosses in the available editions.
Script/Dating	If the script of the glosses is discussed in the secondary literature or if the glosses have been provided with an estimated date of entry, that information is given here.
Language	Statements about the dialect of the glosses or linguistic observations about the glosses are quoted here.
Literature	Literature that is specific to the glosses is listed here. There is a good deal of overlap with the list of literature on the MS in part A), since most glossographic literature will be concerned with the codicology and palaeography of the MS in question. Yet, sometimes it seems appropriate to highlight literature that deals particularly with the glossing of this part of the MS.
Sketches	If hand-drawn sketches of the glosses have been published, they are referenced here.
Photographs	If photographs of the dry-point material have been published, they are referenced here.
DOEC 2009	A short survey of the inclusion of the gloss material in <i>DOEC 2009</i> is made here.

As pointed out above, the amount of information that is available for each MS varies quite considerably. Hence, I could not find any information for a number of subitems to individual MSS, especially concerning L. glossing. This does not mean, of course, that this information may not be available somewhere in the literature; instead, it just means that for the time being I could not identify any source that would have readily presented the information in question. Our *Catalogue* is therefore preliminary not only with respect to the number of identified OE dry-point gloss MSS, but also with respect to the inner refinement of the information supplied.



## 5. A Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain Old English Dry-Point Glosses

[1/K:287\*] Augsburg (D), Universitätsbibliothek Cod. I.2.4°2

### A) Manuscript

Nicknames	“Harburg Gospels”, “Maihingen Gospels”, “Augsburg Gospels”.
Type	Codex, “mostly parchment, a few leaves seem to be vellum” (CLA 8: 1215).
Dimensions	Ca. 245×175–180 mm.
Leaf numbering	F. I (binding paper) + ff. 1–160.
Codicology	Half-binding, sec. xix.
Layout	Double columns; written area: ca. 190×135 mm; 28 lines to the page.
Script/ Dating	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup> , Anglo-Saxon majuscule (CLA 8: 1215); sec. viii, “first third” (BSiK: 632), Insular majuscule; “c. AD 705” (Ó Cróinín 1989: 199).
Contents	Taken from Hilg (2007: 31–33).
f. I	Modern binding paper, empty.
f. 1 <sup>r</sup>	Empty.
f. 1 <sup>v</sup>	AILERANUS SAPIENS, <i>Carmen in Eusebii canones</i> .
f. 2 <sup>r</sup>	Cubus (crossword labyrinth).
ff. 2 <sup>v</sup> –157 <sup>r</sup>	BIBLE, <i>Gospels</i> .
· ff. 2 <sup>v</sup> –6 <sup>v</sup>	Praefationes.
· ff. 7 <sup>r</sup> –12 <sup>v</sup>	10 Eusebian canon tables.
· ff. 13 <sup>v</sup> –52 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Gospel of Matthew</i> .
· ff. 52 <sup>v</sup> –78 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Gospel of Mark</i> .
· ff. 78 <sup>v</sup> –123 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Gospel of Luke</i> .
· ff. 124 <sup>r</sup> –157 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Gospel of John</i> .
f. 157 <sup>v</sup>	Oratio scriptoris (verses).
ff. 158 <sup>r</sup> –159 <sup>v</sup>	Fragments used in binding.

f. 160	Modern binding paper, empty.
Origin	Probably written in Echternach (Willibrord's circle), by a scribe possibly trained in Northumbria (Brown 1960: 90–91) or Rath Melsigi (Ó Cróinín 1989: 194).
Provenance	According to Glaser & Moulin (2009: 1259), both the OE and the OHG glosses were entered while the MS was in Echternach in the first half of the 8 <sup>th</sup> c. Around the time of the dissolution of the French monasteries in AD 1789, the MS was probably in the possession of Jean-Baptiste Maugérard (1735–1815) who supposedly sold it to the capitular canon Adam Gärtler (1731–1818) in Bruchsal (D); it was acquired by Ludwig Fürst von Oettingen-Wallerstein (1791–1870) in 1816; the MS remained in his collection at Maihingen (D) until 1980 when it was transferred to the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg.
Literature (sel.)	<i>CLA</i> (8: 1215); <i>BStK</i> (632–634 [no. 275]); Ker (1957: 348 [no. 287*]); Vaciago (1993: 25 [no. 108]); Cameron (1973: C.51.3); Brown (1960: 90–91); Netzer (1994: 35–38); Bergmann (1983: 16); Hilg (2007: 28–33); Ó Cróinín (1988); Bischoff (1998: 35 [no. 146]); Alexander (1978: 51–52 [no. 24]); McKitterick (2000: 503–504 [no. 3]); Köbler (2005: 13–14).
Facsimiles	Ó Cróinín (1988); <i>CLA</i> (8: 1215): f. 5 <sup>r</sup> ; Hilg (2007: Ill. 1–4): f. 2 <sup>r</sup> , f. 16 <sup>ra</sup> , f. 16 <sup>vb</sup> and f. 124 <sup>ra</sup> ; Netzer (1994: Pl. 60 and Pl. 63): f. 5 <sup>r</sup> and f. 9 <sup>v</sup> ; Alexander (1978: Ills. 115, 116, 119–124, 126): f. 2 <sup>r</sup> , f. 157 <sup>v</sup> , f. 126 <sup>v</sup> , f. 127 <sup>r</sup> , f. 9 <sup>v</sup> , f. 10 <sup>r</sup> , f. 16 <sup>r</sup> , f. 16 <sup>v</sup> and f. 83 <sup>r</sup> ; Schroeder & Trauffer (1996: 51): f. 84 <sup>r</sup> .

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to BIBLE, *Gospels*, ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–157<sup>r</sup>

Editions	Weber et al. (2007).
Translations	Bagster (1872).
Literature	Turner (1931); Lampe (1969); Gameson (1994); Marsden (1995).

#### a) Old English

Description	14 OE dry-point glosses between f. 20 <sup>v</sup> (Mt 5: 29) and f. 60 <sup>v</sup> (Mk 5: 20) to the <i>Gospel of Matthew</i> and the <i>Gospel of Mark</i> ; the language of 2 other dry-point glosses – both on f. 69 <sup>v</sup> (Mk 10: 48 and Mk 11: 4) – has not yet been determined conclusively.
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Editions	<p><i>CLA</i> (8: 1215) mentions the glosses without editing them.</p> <p>Meritt (1961: 442 [no. 3]) gives 11 OE dry-point glosses (including a doubtful reading in a footnote).</p> <p>Hofmann (1963: 37–42), apparently not aware of Meritt (1961), gives mostly differing readings for 9 of Meritt’s glosses; he adds 3 OE glosses that were unknown to Meritt, re-interprets 1 gloss of Meritt’s as OHG, omits 1 gloss that is included in Meritt’s edition and identifies a further 2 glosses as possibly OE or OHG.</p> <p>Ó Cróinín (1999: 87), combining Glaser (1997) and Hofmann (1963) to form a list of 32 OE and OHG dry-point glosses. Ó Cróinín does not seem to be aware of Meritt’s (1961) edition; at least he does not quote Meritt’s edition and he does not mention Meritt’s (1961) gloss no. 8 OE <i>ðet selbe</i> ‘the same’ glossing L. <i>idipsum</i> ‘the same’ (Mt 27: 44) on f. 50<sup>r</sup>, as it is not included in Hofmann (1963).</p> <p>Nievergelt (2009a: 27, n. 66), mentioning 1 dry-point gloss OE <i>forsid</i>, marginally right, glossing L. <i>contempnet</i> (Mt 6: 24), f. 22<sup>rb</sup>, l. 23, and reporting further unedited vernacular dry-point glosses without editing them or listing their position in the MS.</p>
Script/Dating	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup> ( <i>CLA</i> 8: 1215); sec. viii, first third (Hofmann 1963: 32); sec. viii (Ker 1957: 348).
Language	Northumbrian (Hofmann 1963: 37).
Literature	Meritt (1961: 442 [no. 3]); Hofmann (1963: 36–42); Muller (1985); Bullitta (2011: 148–149); Schroeder (1979a: 382–383).
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T26 580.xml&gt; “OccGl 51.3 (Hofmann)”, representing Hofmann (1963: 37–42).</p> <p>Meritt’s (1961) “<i>idipsum</i> – <i>ðet selbe</i>” (no. 8) and Nievergelt’s (2009) “<i>contempnet</i> – <i>forsid</i>” are not included.</p>

### b) Old High German

Description	23 OHG dry-point glosses; the language of 2 other dry-point glosses has not yet been determined conclusively.
Editions	Hofmann (1963: 37–42), mainly based on Bernhard Bischoff’s communications, <sup>1</sup> editing 15 OHG dry-point glosses and 1 illegible trace and identifying a further 2 glosses as possibly OE or OHG.

1 Hofmann (1963: 38) states that nos. 11, 20 and 26 are his own discoveries, while the remaining glosses had been ceded to him by Bernhard Bischoff for publication.

Muller (1983: 389–390) and Muller (1985: 72–73), reporting 2 further OHG dry-point glosses that had been detected but not yet edited by Meritt.

Glaser (1997: 6–17) summarizes the previous editions (including the 2 linguistically ambivalent glosses that she treats as OHG) and adds another 4 OHG dry-point glosses and 5 partly legible traces of glosses, updating the number of known OHG dry-point glosses to 23 plus 6 traces (26 legible word forms altogether).

Glaser & Moulin-Fankhänel (1999: 106), repeating and rearranging Glaser's (1997) findings.

Ó Cróinín (1999: 87), combining Hofmann (1963) and Glaser (1997) – leaving away the doubtful readings – to form a list of 32 OE and OHG dry-point glosses.

Script/Dating	“[A]bout the same age as the Old English glosses” ( <i>BMS</i> 3: 75, n.3).
Language	Middle Franconian (Bergmann 1977: 91; Hofmann 1963: 38; Schützeichel 1964: 22).
Literature	Bergmann (1977: 88–92); Bergmann (1983: 16 [no.275]); <i>BStK</i> (632–634 [no.275]); <i>BMS</i> (3: 75, n.3); Glaser (1996: 55); Glaser & Moulin-Fankhänel (1999: 106–107); Glaser & Nievergelt (2004: 119); Glaser & Moulin (2009: 1259 and 1262–1264); Klein (2000: 27–28); Hofmann (1963: 36–42); Meineke (1994: 153 [item l.]); Muller (1983: 389–391); Muller (1985: 72–73); Ó Cróinín (1999: 87–88); Schiegg (2013); Schützeichel (1964: 22–25); Seebold (2001: 35 [no.10]); Nievergelt (2009a: 27); Bulitta (2011: 148–149); Köbler (1993: 38).
Sketches	Glaser (1997: 16): f. 71 <sup>vb</sup> ( <i>rīȝ</i> ); Glaser & Moulin-Fankhänel (1999: 106 [Ill. 3b]): f. 69 <sup>va</sup> ( <i>sanān</i> ); Muller (1983: 386 [Ill. 1]): f. 51 <sup>ra</sup> ( <i>andræ</i> ); Nievergelt (2009a: 27): f. 21 <sup>ra</sup> (entry of unclear status).
Photographs	Glaser & Moulin-Fankhänel (1999: 106 [Ill. 3a]): f.69 <sup>va</sup> (detail); Muller (1983: 387 [Ill. 2]): f. 20 <sup>vb</sup> (detail); Ó Cróinín (1999: Fig. 2): f. 20 <sup>vb</sup> (detail).

## [2/K:7] Boulogne-sur-Mer (F), Bibliothèque municipale 189

### A) Manuscript

Nickname	“Boulogne Prudentius”.
Type	Codex, vellum (“vélin” CG 4 [1872]: 688).

Dimensions	Ca. 276–279×198–201 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. 1–190.
Codicology	At the foot of f. 4 <sup>r</sup> a note in a late hand reads <i>De libraria Sancti Bertini</i> and 668.
Layout	Mainly single columns, some passages double columns; written area: no information available; 25 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	Sec. x/xi (Gneuss 2001: 120); Caroline minuscule, sec. x/xi (Ker 1957: 5); sec. xi (Meritt 1959: ix).
Contents	Cf. Meritt (1959: ix).
f. 1 <sup>ra</sup>	27 lines of the L. <i>Versus Sybillae</i> , edition in <i>PL</i> (90: 1186).
f. 1 <sup>rb</sup>	Eight lines of L. verse, edition in Holder (1878: 385–386).
f. 1 <sup>v</sup>	Blank.
f. 2 <sup>r</sup>	Notes by William White, sec. xvii, in the top margin.
ff. 2 <sup>r</sup> –2 <sup>v</sup>	A letter by Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury (died ca. AD 959), edition in Holder (1878: 386–387) and <i>PL</i> (133: 946).
ff. 2 <sup>v</sup> –3 <sup>r</sup>	A L. poem, beginning <i>Exoritur hodie virga radice iesse</i> .
f. 2 <sup>v</sup>	Pen trials at the bottom.
f. 3 <sup>v</sup>	Blank except for a L. summary of the MS's content in a late hand.
ff. 4 <sup>r</sup> –190 <sup>v</sup>	The works of PRUDENTIUS, <i>Praefatio</i> , <i>Cathemerinon</i> , <i>Apotheosis</i> , <i>Peristephanon</i> , <i>Contra Symmachum</i> , <i>Epilogus</i> (but lacking <i>Psychomachia</i> ).
Origin	Canterbury, Christ Church (Gneuss 2001: 120).
Provenance	Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer (F), based on a note (sec. xvii) on f. 4 <sup>r</sup> : “Ex libraria S. Bertini” accompanied by the number 668.
Literature	<i>CG</i> (4 [1872]: 688); Ker (1957: 5 [no. 7]); Vaciago (1993: 3 [no. 5]); Temple (1976: 58 [no. 30(xv)]); Korhammer (1980: 57); Meritt (1959); Robinson (1973: 443 and 459); van der Straeten (1971: 138–139); Bishop (1963b: 415, 421 [no. 21]); Gneuss (2001: 120 [no. 805]); Cameron (1973: 94.1).
Facsimiles	Meritt (1959: 2, 32, 62, 88 and 102): f. 4 <sup>r</sup> , f. 74 <sup>r</sup> , f. 102 <sup>r</sup> , f. 120 <sup>r</sup> and f. 142 <sup>r</sup> ; Temple (1976: Ill. 121): f. 4 <sup>r</sup> (detail).

## B) Glosses

Editions	Cooper (1837: 139–152); Mone (1839); Holder (1878); Meritt (1957: 67). Meritt (1959), superseding all previous editions, counting 1077 ink glosses (including 1 unnumbered in the last footnote) and 1 dry-point gloss.
Literature (text)	Wieland (1990).
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>in</sup> , xi <sup>l</sup> (Ker 1957: 5); sec. xi (Meritt 1959: ix).
Literature (glosses)	Meritt (1957: 66–68); Meritt (1968: 122–131, 199–200); Page (1982: 142–143).
DOEC 2009	<T27430.xml> “PrudGl 1 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1959). <T27748.xml> “OccGl 105”, supplementing Meritt (1959: 115 [note following no. 1077]).

### 1) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Cathemerinon*

Editions	Cunningham (1966: 1–72).
Translations	O’Daly (2012); Thomson (1949/53: I, 2–115); Fels (2011: 3–53) [G.].
Literature	See O’Daly (2012: 391 ff.).

#### a) Old English

Description	1 dry-point gloss OE <i>beon gewylde</i> to L. <i>domantur</i> on f. 15 <sup>r</sup> (Meritt 1957: 67; Meritt 1959: 30 [no. 279]) and 285 OE ink glosses on ff. 4 <sup>r</sup> –26 <sup>v</sup> , mostly in the same hand (referred to as “hand no. 1”) that glossed the first part of Peristephanon 2 (Meritt 1959: ix). Some of the glosses in <i>bfk</i> secret script by “hand no. 4”. There is no specification concerning the hand of the dry-point gloss in Meritt’s edition.
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### 2) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Apotheosis*

Editions	Cunningham (1966: 73–115).
Translations	Thomson (1949/53: I, 116–199); Fels (2011: 54–91) [G.].

*a) Old English*

Description 1 OE ink gloss on f. 44<sup>v</sup>; according to Meritt (1959: 33) the hand of this gloss is not connected to any other gloss in the MS.

**3) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Peristephanon***

Editions Cunningham (1966: 251–389).

Translations Thomson (1949/53: II, 98–345); Fels (2011: 218–332) [G.].

Literature Palmer (1989).

*a) Old English*

Description 669 OE ink glosses, distributed as follows: 201 OE ink glosses to Peristephanon 10 on ff. 74<sup>r</sup>–96<sup>r</sup>, by hand no. 2; 189 OE ink glosses to Peristephanon 2 on ff. 99<sup>r</sup>–104<sup>v</sup>, by hand no. 2 up to f. 100, mostly by hand no. 3 in the remainder of the MS; 1 OE ink gloss to Peristephanon 3 on f. 105<sup>r</sup>; 237 OE ink glosses to Peristephanon 5 on ff. 111<sup>r</sup>–132<sup>v</sup>, mostly in hand no. 3, some glosses in *bfk* secret script by hand no. 4; 4 OE ink glosses to Peristephanon 11 on ff. 132<sup>v</sup>–133<sup>r</sup>; 37 OE ink glosses to Peristephanon 14 on ff. 139<sup>r</sup>–141<sup>v</sup>.

Literature McDougall & McDougall (1992: 119–120).

**4) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Contra Orationem Symmachi***

Editions Cunningham (1966: 182–250).

Translations Thomson (1949/53: I, 344–II, 97); Fels (2011: 153–217) [G.].

Literature Tränkle (2008).

*a) Old English*

Description 100 OE ink glosses, by hand no. 3.

## 5) Glosses to **PRUDENTIUS, *Epilogus***

Editions	Cunningham (1966: 401–402).
Translations	Thomson (1949/53: II, 372–376); Fels (2011: 345–346) [G.].

### *a) Old English*

Description	21 OE ink glosses, by hand no. 3; 1 additional ink gloss on f. 190 <sup>v</sup> OE <i>inwrecg</i> glosses the L. entry <i>synrigium</i> in the upper right margin (cf. Meritt 1959: 115 [note following no. 1077]).
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### *1–5 b) Latin*

Description	Judging from the facsimiles in Meritt (1959), there is a substantial amount of L. glossing throughout the MS. The OE glosses were added after the L. glosses (Ker 1957: 5). On ff. 7 <sup>r</sup> , 10 <sup>v</sup> and 74 <sup>r</sup> construe marks are added to individual words (Robinson 1973: 459).
Editions	Some of the L. glosses are included in Holder (1878).
Script/Dating	Not known.
Literature	None known.

## [3/K:34] **Cambridge (UK), Corpus Christi College 57**

### **A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (James 1912: 114).
Dimensions	Ca. 328×254 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. i–ii, ff. 1–163, ff. iii–iv.
Codicology	Detailed codicological description in Graham (1998: 26–31).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 280×203 mm; 27 lines to a page.
Ornamentation	Red initials, sometimes green.



Script/Dating	Sec. x/xi (Gneuss 2001: 31); Phase VII (flat-topped) Square minuscule, ca. AD 1000 (Dumville 1993: 153, n. 78); sec. x/xi, except for three supply leaves (ff. 8, 19 and 22) of sec. xi <sup>med</sup> . (Ker 1957: 46).
Contents	(cf. James 1912)
ff. 2 <sup>r</sup> –32 <sup>v</sup>	BENEDICT OF NURSIA, <i>Regula S. Benedicti</i> .
f. 32 <sup>v</sup>	AMBROSIUS AUTPERTUS (PSEUDO-FULGENTIUS), <i>Admonition</i> .
ff. 33 <sup>r</sup> –37 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Memoriale qualiter</i> , part 1 and 2.
f. 37 <sup>v</sup>	‘ <i>De festivitibus anni</i> ’ ( <i>Ansegisi capitularium collectio</i> , ii. 33; canon 36 of the Council of Mainz, 813).
ff. 37 <sup>v</sup> –40 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Capitulare monasticum</i> / <i>Collectio capitularis</i> of (probably) 818×819.
ff. 41 <sup>r</sup> –94 <sup>r</sup>	USUARD, <i>Martyrologium</i> , with Abingdon additions.
f. 94 <sup>v</sup>	Two formula-letters announcing the death of a monastic priest or deacon.
ff. 95 <sup>r</sup> –163 <sup>v</sup>	SMARAGDUS OF SAINT-MIHIEL, <i>Diadema monachorum</i> (incomplete, ending in Ch. 84).
Origin	Abingdon (Napier 1900: xii; James 1912: 114); Abingdon or Canterbury? (Graham 1998: 31–34).
Provenance	Abingdon, based on obits (ff. 41–94 <sup>r</sup> ) and additions (f. 94 <sup>v</sup> ), both sec. xi (Ker 1957); on f. 1 <sup>v</sup> some remarks “of Parker’s date” (James 1912: 114). The MS is “B (4)” in the list of MSS bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College (Ker 1957: 47).
Edition	Chamberlin (1982).
Literature	James (1912: 114–118 [no. 57]); Ker (1957: 46–47 [no. 34]); Vaciago (1993: 5 [no. 15]); Ker (1964: 2); Blockley (1994: 80); Graham (1998); Chamberlin (1982); Gneuss (2001: no. 41); Dumville (1993: 136, n. 106); Meyvaert (1963: 100); Temple (1976: 56 [no. 30(x)]).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from “Parker Library on the Web”; <sup>2</sup> Graham et al. (2003: 28–38 [no. 27]).

2 URL: <[http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms\\_no=57](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=57)>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to BENEDICT OF NURSIA, *Regula S. Benedicti*, ff. 2<sup>r</sup>–32<sup>v</sup>

Edition	Venarde (2011).
Translation	Venarde (2011).
Literature	Gretsch (1973); Gretsch (1974).

#### a) Old English

Description	11 OE ink glosses (17 word forms) on ff. 3 <sup>r</sup> , 5 <sup>r</sup> , 5 <sup>v</sup> , 7 <sup>r</sup> , 7 <sup>v</sup> , 8 <sup>r</sup> (3 times), 9 <sup>r</sup> , 10 <sup>v</sup> , 18 <sup>r</sup> and 23 <sup>v</sup> , in various hands (Napier 1900: xii), interlinear except for the marginal gloss on f. 23 <sup>v</sup> .
Edition	Napier (1900: 231 [no. 57]).
Script/Dating	Most glosses sec. xi (Napier 1900: xii), sec. xi <sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 46). The glosses on f. 8 <sup>r</sup> belong to a different stratum, sec. xi <sup>med</sup> ; they are entered on supply leaves in the same hand as that of the main text of f. 8 <sup>r</sup> . The gloss on f. 7 <sup>v</sup> is assumed to be later by Ker (1957: 46), based on its Caroline letter-forms.
Literature	Cameron (1973: 48.1).
DOEC 2009	<T26470.xml> “BenRG1 1 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 231 [no. 57]).

#### b) Latin

Description	Numerous L. ink glosses, throughout ff. 2 <sup>r</sup> –32 <sup>v</sup> . On ff. 3 <sup>r</sup> , 5 <sup>r</sup> , 5 <sup>v</sup> , 8 <sup>r</sup> and 23 <sup>v</sup> the L. interpretamenta refer to the same lemma as one of the OE ink glosses mentioned above.
Edition	None known.
Script/ Dating	Later than the base text, Carolingian minuscule (based on a quick survey of <a>, <d>, <g>, <r>, <s> in the on-line facsimile), ink often light brown in contrast with the rather dark brown of the base text.
Literature	None known.

c) *Further stylus activity*

Description	1 marginal runic dry-point entry on 2 lines on f. 30 <sup>v</sup> consisting on the one hand of the anglicised Scandinavian name <i>Hávarðr</i> entered as <i>auarþ</i> on the first line and on the other hand of an unexplained entry <i>is</i> or <i>us</i> on the second line. It can be found alongside ll. 6–8 in the left margin; since the runes are placed very close to the edge, some initial parts of the entry may have been cut off by a later binder. The entry is not visible in the on-line facsimile (see below).
Edition	Graham (1996).
Script/ Dating	Scandinavian type runes of the younger <i>futhark</i> , sec. xi (Graham 1996: 19).
Literature	Page (1993: 19); Abrams (1995: 224, n. 52); Graham (1996).
Description	1 OE dry-point entry (2 word forms) on f. 32 <sup>v</sup> below the end of the text of the <i>Regula</i> in a blank space, identified as <i>lurtiecuþ:fox</i> or <i>lyrtiecof:fox</i> ‘treacherous fox[?]’, followed by four more letters, possibly <i>abuf</i> (Page 1979: 30). No connection to the base text of the MS is discernible.
Edition	Page (1979: 30); included as “Lurtiecuþ fox.” in the <i>DOEC</i> Corpus.
Script/ Dating	No information given by Page (1979); some letters of the entry are even visible in the on-line facsimile (see below), the letter-shapes <f> resemble Anglo-Saxon rather than Carolingian minuscule, but the telling letter-forms <r> and <e> are unfortunately not easily discernible on the screen.
Literature	Page (1979: 30).
<i>DOEC</i> 2009	<T27720.xml> “SmarGl (Page)”, representing Page (1979: 30).

2) Glosses to *USUARD, Martyrologium*, ff. 41<sup>r</sup>–94<sup>r</sup>a) *Latin*

Description	An unknown number of L. dry-point glosses, one reported.
Script/ Dating	No information available.
Edition	Graham (2009: 177), reporting a dry-point gloss L. <i>luna XXIII</i> scratched at the head of the entry for 12 May on f. 58 <sup>r</sup> .
Facsimiles	Graham (2009: 177): f. 58 <sup>v</sup> (detail), picture taken under cold fibre-optic light to emphasise the dry-point gloss.

### 3) Glosses to SMARAGDUS, *Diadema monachorum*, ff. 95<sup>r</sup>–163<sup>v</sup>

#### a) Old English

Description	4 OE dry-point glosses (4 word forms) on ff. 95 <sup>r</sup> (twice), 97 <sup>v</sup> and 98 <sup>r</sup> .
Script/Dating	No information given by Page (1979).
Edition	Page (1979: 30). Page hints at the possibility that further OE material might be found, as his search was only casual.
Literature	Page (1979: 30).
DOEC 2009	<T27720.xml> “SmarGl (Page)”, representing Page (1979: 30).

#### b) Latin

Description	Emendations and expansions of abbreviations throughout ff. 95 <sup>r</sup> –163 <sup>v</sup> , but no lexical glosses. A set of syntactical marks throughout the text direct the reader to the subject and verb of the sentence.
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#### c) Further stylus activity

Description	There is a sketch of a rough interlaced ornament in dry-point on f. 112 <sup>v</sup> , noted by James (1912: 118).
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## [4/K:40] Cambridge (UK), Corpus Christi College 173, ff. 57–83

### A) Manuscript

Nickname	“Corpus Sedulius”.
Type	Codex, vellum (James 1912: 395). “The leaves are rather thick and stiff, with suède-like or smooth surfaces, including shiny and translucent areas” (Budny 1997: 75).
Dimensions	Ca. 280×212 mm.
Leaf Numbering	Ff. 57–83, also separately numbered as ff. 1–27.
Codicology	Modern binding (cf. Budny 1997: 81–83 for detailed description).
Layout	Single columns on ff. 1 and 2, 33 lines to a page, in a different hand from the rest, possibly f. 2 <sup>v</sup> even in a third hand (James 1912: 399), written area: ca. 230×186 mm. The remaining folios in double columns of 27 lines, written area: ca. 227×178 mm.

Script/Dating	Sec. viii <sup>2</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 32); Anglo-Saxon minuscule, sec. viii (Ker 1957: 59 [no. 40]).
Contents	27 sheets, bound together (maybe since sec. xiii or earlier, cf. James 1912: 401) with 56 sheets containing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (“The Parker Chronicle”) and Anglo-Saxon legal texts (sec. ix–xi).
f. 57 <sup>r</sup> –58 <sup>v</sup>	SEDULIUS, <i>Letter I to Macedonius</i> .
f. 59 <sup>r</sup> –79 <sup>v</sup>	SEDULIUS, <i>Carmen paschale</i> .
f. 79 <sup>v</sup> –80 <sup>r</sup>	SEDULIUS, Hymn <i>A solis ortus cardine</i> .
f. 80 <sup>r</sup> –81 <sup>r</sup>	SEDULIUS, <i>Letter II to Macedonius</i> .
f. 81 <sup>r</sup> –81 <sup>v</sup>	Verses of DAMASUS on St Paul.
f. 81 <sup>v</sup> –82 <sup>v</sup>	SEDULIUS, <i>Elegia</i> .
f. 82 <sup>v</sup> –83 <sup>v</sup>	AUGUSTINE, <i>De ciuitate Dei</i> , xviii. 23 (excerpts) with three versions of Sibylline prophecies.
Origin	Southern England, probably Kent (Budny 1997: 75).
Provenance	According to Budny (1997: 75), the MS remained in Southern England, perhaps at Winchester in sec. ix/x; it was probably at Christ Church, Canterbury from sec. xiii onward.
Literature	CLA (2: 123); Budny (1997: 75–87 [no. 4]); James (1912: 395–401 [no. 173]); Ker (1957: 59 [no. 40]); Blockley (1994: 80); Vaciago (1993: 5 [no. 16]); Lapidge (1996: 441 [no. 22]); Gneuss (2001: 32 [no. 53]); Cameron (1973: C.97.2).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from “Parker Library on the web”. <sup>3</sup>

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to SEDULIUS, *Carmen paschale* (including the two Letters to Macedonius), ff. 57<sup>r</sup>–79<sup>v</sup>, 80<sup>r</sup>–81<sup>r</sup>

Editions	Huemer (2007).
Translations	McBrine (forthcoming).
Literature	Springer (1988); Mazzega (1996); Green (2006).

<sup>3</sup> URL: <[http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms\\_no=173](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=173)>.

a) *Old English*

Description	About 550 OE dry-point glosses and 73 OE ink (and pencil?) glosses, both interlinearly and marginally. Several times a lemma is furnished with both an ink gloss and a dry-point gloss.
Script/Dating	Ink glosses “in at least three different hands; most of these I take to be late tenth century, but a few may be earlier” (Meritt 1945: xv); no date given for dry-point glosses. Sec. “x–xi?”, Ker (1957: 59).
Editions	<p>CLA (2 [1935]: 123), reporting “Numerous glosses added: some in Anglo-Saxon scratched in interlineally with a sharp point, others in ordinary minuscule.”</p> <p>Meritt (1936: 140–150), first edition of dry-point and ink glosses (no mention of pencil) later enlarged and replaced by Meritt (1945: 29–38 [no. 28]).</p> <p>Meritt (1945: 29–38 [no. 28]), editing 425 OE dry-point glosses and 73 OE ink glosses (no mention of pencil).</p> <p>Ker (1957: 59) mentions the fact that some of the OE glosses are entered in pencil, rather than ink.</p> <p>Page (1973: 210–213), giving corrections to 34 of Meritt’s (1945) glosses and editing another 121 dry-point glosses (no mention of pencil).</p> <p>Page (1979: 45), editing 7 (or 8?) additional OE dry-point glosses (including some partial readings) from f. 80<sup>v</sup>.</p> <p>Page (1982: 154–160), correcting several of his readings and adding a small number of new OE dry-point glosses from f. 59<sup>r</sup> (in a rather confusing format and without giving any references to previous editions). More dry-point material remains unedited (cf. Page 1982: 156).</p>
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T27580.xml&gt; “SedGl 2.1 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 29–38 [no. 28]), with Page’s (1973: 213–214) corrections incorporated, however, this incorporation is not always consistent.</p> <p>&lt;T27600.xml&gt; “SedGl 2.3 (Page)”, representing Page (1973: 210–213); several glosses, however, are not included, e.g. OE <i>þv bl̥dofīl bl̥iofest</i> glossing L. <i>deliciosus amas</i> (p. 59<sup>r</sup>); OE/L. <i>grecisc est a nomin- ahhiv-</i> (endings cut away at the outer margin) glossing L. <i>achiui i. greki</i> (p. 61<sup>r</sup>); OE <i>ġh̥r</i> glossing L. <i>o</i> (p. 74<sup>r</sup>).</p> <p>&lt;T27610.xml&gt; “SedGl 2.4 (Page)”, representing Page (1979: 44–45, nos. 4–10).</p> <p>Page (1982) is not included.</p>

*b) Latin*

Description	Judging from the facsimile, there are L. glosses throughout the MS; Meritt's editions mention them only if they occur as interpretamenta to the same lemma as an OE gloss.
Script/Dating	Sec. viii/ix (Meritt 1945: xv).
Editions	Meritt (1936: 140–150), Meritt (1945: 29–38 [no. 28]).

## 2) Glosses to SEDULIUS, *Carmen de laude Christi* or (*A solis ortus cardine*), ff. 79<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>r</sup>

*a) Old English*

Description	9 OE dry-point glosses.
Editions	Meritt (1945: 42 [no. 31]), editing 6 OE dry-point glosses. Page (1979: 44–45), editing 3 additional dry-point glosses.
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T27590.xml> “SedGl 2.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 42 [no. 31]). <T27610.xml> “SedGl 2.4 (Page)”, representing Page (1979: 44–45): nos. 1–3 belong to <i>Carmen de laude Christi</i> .

## [5/K:52] Cambridge (UK), Corpus Christi College 223

**A) Manuscript**

Nickname	“Saint-Bertin Prudentius”.
Type	Codex, partly vellum (Bischoff 1998: 180). “The leaves vary from rather thin and supple to rather thick and stiff, with yellowish, smooth, and sometimes shiny or suède-like surfaces” (Budny 1997: 137).
Dimensions	Ca. 245×182 mm.
Leaf numbering	Pp. i–ii + pp. 1–340 + pp. iii–iv. A previous numbering used to skip pp. 103–112, so page numbers used by Meritt (1945), Ker (1957), Page (1979) and others have to be adjusted. Even Bischoff (1998: 180) is confused by the concurring numbering schemes, when referring to “175 Bl.”, but there are only 170 fos. (plus 1 endleaf at each end).

Codicology	Pre-modern leather binding.
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 183×105 mm; 32–34 lines to a page; in the first part of the book, initials of lines are filled with red and green alternately.
Script/Dating	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 34); “written by several scribes in competent Caroline minuscule”, sec. ix <sup>2</sup> , perhaps sec. ix <sup>q.3</sup> (Budny 1997: 138–139).
Contents	Cf. Budny (1997: 146–147), providing a very detailed listing.
pp. 1–4	Original front endleaves.
· pp. 1–3	Notes on Kings of France and the Abbey of Saint-Bertin (Saint-Omer, F), medical recipes, <i>probationes pennae</i> .
· p. 4	Title-page of PRUDENTIUS, <i>Opera</i> .
pp. 5–56	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Cathemerinon</i> .
pp. 56–90	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Apotheosis</i> .
pp. 90–121	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Hamartigenia</i> .
· p. 121	Concluding title-page of PRUDENTIUS, <i>Hamartigenia</i> .
p. 122	Originally blank page with a set of added computistical texts.
pp. 123–154	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Psychomachia</i> , <i>liber III</i> .
pp. 155–266	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Peristephanon</i> .
pp. 266–325	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Contra Symmachum</i> .
pp. 325–330	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Dittochaeon</i> (continued on pp. 339–340, misplaced in binding).
p. 331	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Epilogus: De opusculis suis</i> (beginning on p. 340).
pp. 332–337	IOHANNES SCOTUS ERIUGENA, <i>Carmina (Versus ad Karolum regem)</i> .
pp. 337–338	Scribbles – the bottom half of p. 337 and p. 338 contain scribbles, as this page used to be the closing page of the MS.
pp. 339–340	Ending of PRUDENTIUS, <i>Dittochaeon</i> and beginning of PRUDENTIUS, <i>Epilogus: De opusculis suis</i> (continuing on p. 331).
Origin	Northern France, perhaps the Abbey of Saint-Bertin (Budny 1997: 137); Arras, Saint-Vaast (Gneuss 2001: 34).



Provenance	A note on p. 1 suggests that the MS was still on the Continent and probably at Saint-Bertin at the beginning of sec. x. The MS probably reached England during sec. x, but medieval ownership and whereabouts are unknown. Owned by Daniel Rogers (ca. 1538–91) and given to Corpus Christi College along with other books previously owned by Rogers in sec. xvii.
Literature	Budny (1997: 137–149 [no. 10]); James (1912: 521–525); Hartzell (2006: 47–48 [no. 31]); Ker (1957: 92 [no. 52]); Blockley (1994: 80); Vaciago (1993: 6–7 [no. 19]); Wanley (1705: 151); Bischoff (1998: 180 [no. 816]); Robinson (1988: 55); Gneuss (2001: 34–35 [no. 70]); Cameron (1973: C.94.4).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from “Parker Library on the web”. <sup>4</sup>

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ANONYMUS, *Potio in apostema* and *Potio ad capitis dolorem* (medical recipes), p. 2

Editions	None known.
Translations	None known.
Literature	None known.

#### a) Old English

Description	9 OE ink glosses in a medical recipe – probably added sec. x (Ker 1957: 92) – entitled <i>potio in apostema</i> “potion against ulcers”, all plant names. Another 6 plant names added to a recipe entitled <i>potio ad capitis dolorem</i> “potion against a headache”, but the OE plant names do not correspond to the plant names of the L. recipe.
Editions	Meritt (1945: 57 [no. 66]); editing 9 OE ink glosses; mentioning 6 plant names in the footnotes.
Script/Dating	Two of the plant names are in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, sec. x; the glosses and four of the plant names are in later Caroline minuscule (Ker 1957: 92).
Literature	Bierbaumer (1979: xix).

4 URL: <[http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms\\_no=223](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=223)>.

DOEC 2009 <T26 920.xml> “OccGl 71.1 (Meritt)”, partly representing Meritt (1945: no. 66).

The 6 plant names mentioned in Meritt’s footnotes (1945: 57, n. 66) are not included.

## 2) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Cathemerinon*, pp. 4–56

Editions Cunningham (1966: 1–72).

Translations O’Daly (2012); Fels (2011: 3–53) [G.].

Literature See O’Daly (2012: 391 ff.).

### a) Old English

Description 1 OE dry-point gloss and 5 OE ink glosses.

Editions Meritt (1945: 27–29 [no. 27], nos. 1–5), editing 5 OE ink glosses from pp. 11, 13, 18 and 42 (twice).

Page (1979: 32–43), editing 1 OE dry-point gloss *ifig* glossing L. *hederas*, from p. 11.

Script/Dating Sec. xi<sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 92; Meritt 1945: xv).

Literature None known.

DOEC 2009 <T27 460.xml> “PrudGl 4 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 27–29 [no. 27]): nos. 1–5 belong to *Cathemerinon*.

<T27 470.xml> “PrudGl 4.2 (Page)”, representing Page (1979: 32–43): only the first gloss belongs to *Cathemerinon*.

### b) Latin

Description 1 L. dry-point gloss reported; L. ink glossing throughout, often marginal.

Editions Page (1979: 33), editing 1 L. dry-point gloss *placidus* glossing *serenus*.

Script/Dating “Latin glosses on pp. 18–37 are in a handsome Anglo-Saxon hand, sec. x<sup>med</sup>” (Ker 1957: 92).

### 3) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Psychomachia*, pp. 123–154

Editions	Cunningham (1966: 149–181).
Translations	Thomson (1949/53: I, 274–343); Fels (2011: 124–153) [G.].
Literature	Smith (1976); Gnilka (2000–2003).

#### a) Old English

Description	More than 100 OE dry-point glosses and 32 OE glosses “put in with a coloring matter which is now a faint purple” (Meritt 1945: 28, n. 6) on pp. 136, 137, 138 and 140. In the digital facsimile available from the Parker Library website, both the pencil and the dry-point glosses are virtually invisible.
Editions	Meritt (1945: 27–29 [no. 27], nos. 6–39), editing 32 OE ink glosses and 2 OE dry-point glosses.  Page (1979: 32–43), editing a little more than 100 dry-point glosses: “my account is necessarily incomplete [...] There are still several pages of the <i>Psychomachia</i> from which I print nothing ...” (Page 1979: 42).
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 92; Meritt 1945: xv).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T27460.xml> “PrudGl 4 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 27–29 [no. 27]): nos. 6–39 form part of <i>Psychomachia</i> .  <T27470.xml> “PrudGl 4.2 (Page)”, representing Page (1979: 32–43): the first gloss belongs to <i>Cathemerinon</i> , the remaining nos. 2–103 belong to <i>Psychomachia</i> . Page’s format is rather confusing; the DOEC coder seems to have missed some glosses: OE <i>seo[...]</i> <i>fulle</i> presumably glossing L. <i>subdola</i> and OE <i>eorre</i> glossing L. <i>discordia</i> on p. 147 (cf. Page 1979: 37), as well as OE <i>wig</i> , an uncertain reading on p. 145 near L. <i>reluctanti</i> (cf. Page 1979: 40).

#### b) Latin

Description	L. ink glossing throughout, often marginal.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	No information available.
Literature	On L. <i>Psychomachia</i> glosses in general cf. O’Sullivan (2004).

#### 4) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Peristephanon*, pp. 155–266

Editions	Cunningham (1966: 251–389).
Translations	Thomson (1949/53: II, 98–345); Fels (2011: 218–332) [G.].
Literature	Palmer (1989).

##### a) *Old English*

Description	5 OE ink glosses on pp. 175, 190, 245, 253 and 256.
Editions	Meritt (1945: 27–29 [no. 27]), editing 5 OE ink glosses.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 92; Meritt 1945: xv).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T27460.xml> “PrudGl 4 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 27–29 [no. 27]): nos. 40–44 form part of <i>Peristephanon</i> .

##### b) *Latin*

Description	L. ink glossing throughout, often marginal.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	No information available.
Literature	None known.

#### [6/K:54] Cambridge (UK), Corpus Christi College 285, ff. 75–131

##### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, vellum (James 1912: 51). “The original leaves are rather thick, with variously yellowish or cream-colored and smooth or suède-like surfaces” (Budny 1997: 459).
Dimensions	Ca. 260×176 mm.
Leaf numbering	Part II of the composite MS 285: ff. 1–74 (Part I) + ff. 75–131 (Part II) + f. 132.

Codicology	Full-binding over stiff-board, sec. xvi (cf. Budny 1997: 145–146 for detailed account).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 212×122 mm; 27 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Enlarged initials, sometimes in red.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>in</sup> . (Gneuss 2001: 36); English Caroline minuscule, sec. xi <sup>in</sup> . (Budny 1997: 459).
Contents of Part II	
ff. 75 <sup>r</sup> –122 <sup>v</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Carmen de virginitate</i> .
ff. 122 <sup>v</sup> –131 <sup>v</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>De octo vitiis principalibus</i> .
Origin	England (Budny 1997: 459).
Provenance	Medieval ownership is unknown. The MS was part of Matthew Parker's collection. It passed into the possession of Corpus Christi College by Parker's indenture of 1575. The MS was catalogued as "N.31" in Parker's register, preserved in Cambridge, CCC MS 575 (cf. Page 1981b: 7).
Literature	Budny (1997: 459–462 [no. 27]); James (1912: 51); Ker (1957: 95 [no. 54]); Vaciago (1993: 7 [no. 21]); Korhammer (1980: 55); Bishop (1971: xxv); Gneuss (2001: 36 [no. 82]); Cameron (1973: C.32.2).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from "Parker Library on the web". <sup>5</sup>

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Carmen de virginitate*, ff. 75<sup>r</sup>–122<sup>v</sup>

Edition	Ehwald (1919: 350–452).
Translations	Lapidge & Rosier (1985: 102–157).
Literature	Ehwald (1919: 325–349).

5 URL: <[http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms\\_no=285](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=285)>.

*a) Old English*

Description	46 OE dry-point glosses and 3 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 184–185 [no. 18]), editing 43 OE dry-point glosses and 3 OE ink glosses.  Page (1975a: 151), editing 3 further OE dry-point glosses, confirming 2 speculative readings and correcting 2 other readings of Napier.
Script/Dating	“Five of the glosses in ink are in the same small hand as Latin glosses: the letter-forms are caroline. All the scratched glosses, and one in ink (gl. 26), are in a larger hand using the insular letter-forms”, sec. xi (Ker 1957: 95); sec. xi (Napier 1900: xviii).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26080.xml> “AldMV 2.1 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 184–185 [no. 18]).  Page (1975a) is not included.

*b) Latin*

Description	L. glossing throughout, mainly interlinearly.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi (Ker 1957: 95).
Literature	Bishop (1971: xxv, 20); Dumville (1993: 55, n. 240).

**2) Glosses to ALDHELM, *De octo vitiis principalibus*, ff. 122<sup>v</sup>–131<sup>v</sup>**

Editions	Ehwald (1919: 452–471).
Translations	Lapidge & Rosier (1985: 157–167).
Literature	Ehwald (1919: 325–349); Wieland (1986).

*a) Old English*

Description	1 OE dry-point gloss and 3 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 190 [no. 22]), editing 3 OE ink glosses and 1 OE dry-point gloss.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi (Ker 1957: 95).

Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26 090.xml> “AldMV 2.2 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 190 [no. 22]).

### *b) Latin*

Description	L. glossing throughout, mainly interlinearly.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi (Ker 1957: 95).
Literature	None known.

## [7/K:61] Cambridge (UK), Corpus Christi College 326

### A) Manuscript

Nickname	“Corpus Aldhelm”.
Type	Codex, vellum (James 1912: 143). “The original leaves are usually rather thick and supple, with soft, cream-colored, suède-like surfaces which have a raised nap” (Budny 1997: 245).
Dimensions	Ca. 232×163 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. a–c + i–ii + pp. 1–71 + 71b + 72 + 72b + 73–140 + ff. d–f.
Codicology	Modern binding from the late 1970s or early 1980s. For collation see James (1912: 143). Former pressmark: K. 12.
Ornamentation	About a dozen initials and a full page inscribed rota diagram (cf. Budny 1997: 251–252).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 179×112 mm; 24 lines to a page.
Script/Dating	Sec. x/xi (Gneuss 2001: 37); English Caroline minuscule, second half of the 10 <sup>th</sup> c. (Ker 1957: 107), probably the last quarter (Budny 1997: 247).
Contents	
ff. a–c	Modern paper front endleaves, empty.
ff. i–ii	Front endleaves, with present pressmark (f. i <sup>r</sup> ) and Christ Church title and pressmark (f. ii <sup>r</sup> ), sec. xii.

- pp. 1–133      *ALDHELM, Prosa de virginitate*, complete.
- pp. 5–6      Anonymous untitled macaronic (Old English, Latin and Greek) poem on Aldhelm inserted between the chapter-list and the beginning of the main text on p. 6 (cf. Wanley 1705: 110; Napier 1900: xiv–xv; Holthausen 1917b: 403; Dobbie 1942: 97–98; Whitbread 1976; Robinson 1989).
- p. 105      Gwara (1997a: 203) reports that there is a “runic inscription ‘vive vale feli(x) cum cristo amen’ on p. 105”, but the inscription is not runic at all, it is rather encoded in a simple vowel substitution cipher (<·> = <a>, <·> = <e>, etc.), as already reported by Wanley (1705: 110); on medieval ciphers in general cf. *BMS* (3: 120–148).
- p. 133      Instruction to the reader, incomplete.
- pp. 133–134      *ABBO, Bella Parisiaca Urbis* (book III, ll. 1–17).
- p. 134      A short and incomplete L.–L. glossary from *Bassium* to *Calorate*.
- pp. 134–135      A set of L. *sententiae*.
- pp. 135–136      A L. text on Adam’s creation and name.
- p. 137      A set of L. verses comparing a scribe completing work to a sailor reaching port.
- p. 137      A L. text comparing erring humanity and the nine orders of angels to a flock of one hundred sheep with one stray sheep.
- p. 137      A L. text about drunkenness.
- pp. 137–138      A set of L. questions and answers on the nature of the earth and other topics.
- p. 138      A L. text on the inflections of L. nouns and verbs.
- p. 139      A blank page with some pen-trials, sec. xi, including OE *fotgewædu* (Napier 1900: xiv; Ker 1957: 107).
- p. 140      A full page inscribed diagram of a rota; partly rubbed runic *notae sancti Bonifatii* in L. (cf. Derolez 1954: 421); some pen-trials.
- ff. d–f      Modern paper endleaves, empty.
- Origin      Christ Church, Canterbury.
- Provenance      Remained in Christ Church, then owned by Matthew Parker who gave it to Corpus Christi College in his indenture of 1575 (cf. Budny 1997: 248–249).



Literature	Budny (1997: 245–252 [no. 21]); James (1912: 143–146); Ker (1957: 107–108 [no. 61]); Vaciago (1993: 7 [no. 22]); Gwara (2001a: 109–113); Derolez (1954: 421); Korhammer (1980: 55); Gneuss (2001: 36–37 [no. 93]); Temple (1976: 46 [no. 19(iv)]); Hartzell (2006: 51 [no. 37]); Goossens (1974: 19); Bishop (1963b: 414, 421 [no. 24]).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from “Parker Library on the web”. <sup>6</sup>

## B) Glosses

### 5.4.7.1 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*, pp. 1–133

Editions	Gwara (2001b), as siglum “C1”.
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 59–132).
Literature	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 51–58).

#### a) Old English

Description	Ca. 600 OE dry-point glosses and 94 OE ink glosses.
Editions	<p>Napier (1900: 151–152 [no. 4]), listing 93 OE ink glosses.</p> <p>Napier (1900: xxiii, n. 2a), editing only a selection of 5 OE dry-point glosses in a footnote but mentioning that the dry-point glosses in this MS are “tolerably numerous” (Napier 1900: xiv).</p> <p>Meritt (1945: 1 [no. 1]), reporting an additional 29 OE dry-point glosses.</p> <p>Ker (1957: 107), reporting an ink gloss OE <i>wreda</i> glossing L. <i>fasciarum</i> on p. 80, missing in Napier (1900).</p> <p>Page (1975b), correcting 4 of Meritt’s (1945) readings (1975b: 489) and adding another 180 OE dry-point glosses (1975b: 483–489).</p> <p>Gwara (1993), editing the dry-point and ink glosses of all extant MSS of ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i>, including 80 newly detected OE dry-point glosses (1993: 870–881).</p>

<sup>6</sup> URL: <[http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms\\_no=326](http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/summary.do?ms_no=326)>.

Gwara (1997a), correcting 12 of Page's (1975b) readings (Gwara 1997a: 205, n. 24) and editing 389 OE dry-point glosses (Gwara 1997a: 211–235), mostly including those edited in Gwara (1993), plus another 10 occurrences of either *wynn* <p> or *thorn* <þ> that he cannot distinguish with any certainty (Gwara 1997a: 236).<sup>7</sup>

Gwara (2001b), editing both the L. and OE ink and dry-point glosses from all extant MSS of ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate* in his critical edition of that text.

Script/Dating	Gwara (1997a: 204–205) distinguishes two 10 <sup>th</sup> -c. scribes adding ink glosses in both L. and OE to the MS, both writing in Style II Anglo-Caroline, with some Insular features in the first scribe's writing. Ker (1957: 107) suggests that some of the OE ink glosses are contemporary with the text and others possibly sec. xi <sup>m</sup> . Gwara (2001a: 204) notes that the dry-point glosses seem to have been added by several scribes, without attempting to distinguish them in his edition.
Literature	Gwara (1993: 142–149); Gwara (1997a: 204–205); Gwara (1998a); Gwara (2001a: 109–113, 220–224).
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T25 890.xml&gt; “AldV 3.1 (Nap)”, combining Napier's (1900) ink and dry-point findings.</p> <p>&lt;T25 900.xml&gt; “AldV 3.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt's (1945) edition but ignoring Page's (1975b: 489) emendations to it.</p> <p>&lt;T25 910.xml&gt; “AldV 3.3 (Page)”, representing Page (1975b).</p> <p>Ker's (1957), Gwara's (1997) and Gwara's (1998a) editions and emendations are not included.</p>

## b) *Latin*

Description	Several hundred L. ink glosses.
Editions	Gwara (1993; 2001b).
Script/Dating	Gwara (1997a: 204–205) distinguishes two 10 <sup>th</sup> -c. scribes adding the majority of ink glosses in both L. and OE to the MS, both writing in Style II Anglo-Caroline. Occasionally other scribes added L. glosses, too, sometimes with Insular features (Ker 1957: 107).
Literature	Gwara (1993: 142–149; 1997: 204–205; 2001a: 109–113).

<sup>7</sup> Confusingly, Gwara (1997a) is not in perfect accordance with Gwara (1993). Gwara (1993: 871, no. 2) lists a gloss OE (?) *y* glossing L. *desudans*. Gwara (1997a: 211) does not feature this gloss anymore without comment.

**[8/K:7\*] Cambridge (UK), Fitzwilliam Museum 45–1980****A) Manuscript**

Former press-mark	Ripon, Collection of H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence; former Fitzwilliam press-mark: Bradfer-Lawrence Deposit, BL 1.
Type	Codex, vellum (Wormald 1977: 1).
Dimensions	Ca. 270×190 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. 1–154.
Codicology	Binding probably sec. xviii <sup>ex</sup> ; gatherings of eight leaves.
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 185×127 mm; 26/28 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Seven full-page and half-page miniatures depicting the evangelists and other religious motifs.
Script/Dating	Continental hand, sec. x (Ker 1957: 5); sec. ix or x (Giles 1973); “Meh-rere verh. regelm. Min.hde.”, i. e. ‘several relatively regular minuscule hands’ (Bischoff 1998: 181); sec. ix <sup>ex</sup> (Bischoff 1998: 181; Gneuss 2001: 39; Lapidge 2006: 168).
Contents	Following Wormald & Alexander (1977):
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –12 <sup>v</sup>	Capitulary, giving the Gospels for every day of the year ending incomplete.
f. 13	A fragment of Jerome’s letter to Pope Damasus on a stub.
f. 14 <sup>r</sup>	Blank.
f. 14 <sup>v</sup>	A full-page miniature perhaps showing Christ or St Jerome with the symbols of the four evangelists.
ff. 15 <sup>r</sup> –21 <sup>v</sup>	Canon Tables under decorated arches.
f. 22 <sup>r</sup>	Miniature of St Matthew.
ff. 22 <sup>v</sup> –63 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Gospel of Matthew.</i>
f. 63 <sup>v</sup>	Miniature of St Mark.
ff. 64 <sup>r</sup> –86 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Gospel of Mark.</i>
f. 87 <sup>r</sup>	Miniature of St Luke.
ff. 87 <sup>v</sup> –127 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Gospel of Luke.</i>
f. 128 <sup>r</sup>	Miniature of St John (half page).

ff. 128 <sup>r</sup> –154 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Gospel of John</i> , ending incomplete at Jn 19:13.
Origin	Of Continental origin, generally assumed to have originated in Western France, perhaps Brittany (e.g. Giles 1973: 87; Wormald & Alexander 1977: 11–12; Lapidge 2006: 168), perhaps in the vicinity of Dol-de-Bretagne (F) (Deuffic 1985: 296; Bischoff 1998: 181); “W France (Brittany, Dol region?), or Loire valley?” (Gneuss 2001: 39).
Provenance	The MS is assumed to have come to England soon after its creation: “Some time during the tenth century the manuscript came to England, since in a number of places corrections and glosses in Latin have been made in a hand whose training was certainly an insular one” (Wormald & Alexander 1977: 3). The MS was in the possession of a chapter-clerk of Ripon Cathedral, Mr J. Whitham, in the late 1800s. After that it became part of Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence’s collection before being deposited in the Fitzwilliam Museum by his trustees.
Literature	Wormald & Alexander (1977); Ker (1957: 5–6 [no. 7*]); Ker (1976: 121 [no. 7*]); Vaciago (1993: 8 [no. 26]); Lapidge (2006: 168); Giles (1973: 87); Lenker (1997: 418–419); Edwards (2004: 68), wrongly listing MS as pressmarked “40[sic!]-1980”; Giles (1973); Cameron (1973: C.51.1); Gneuss (2001: 39 [no. 119]); Bischoff (1998: 181 [no. 821]); Deuffic (1985: 296 [no. 18]); Lapidge & Sharpe (1985: 265 [no. 964]).
Facsimiles	Wormald & Alexander (1977) include 8 colour plates (f. 14 <sup>v</sup> , f. 21 <sup>v</sup> , f. 22 <sup>r</sup> , f. 63 <sup>v</sup> , f. 83 <sup>v</sup> , f. 87 <sup>r</sup> , f. 125 <sup>r</sup> and f. 128 <sup>r</sup> ) and 27 duochrome plates – mainly with canon tables or notable initials (f. 1, ff. 15 <sup>r</sup> –21 <sup>r</sup> , f. 22 <sup>r</sup> , f. 23 <sup>v</sup> , f. 24 <sup>v</sup> , f. 62 <sup>v</sup> , f. 64 <sup>r</sup> , f. 87 <sup>v</sup> , f. 89 <sup>v</sup> , f. 129 <sup>r</sup> and f. 130 <sup>r</sup> ), however, 4 of the duochrome plates (f. 41, f. 46 <sup>r</sup> , f. 49 <sup>r</sup> and f. 50 <sup>v</sup> ) are explicitly chosen to exemplify some of Napier’s (1900) OE ink glosses, namely glosses nos. 17, 20–22, 25 and 27–28, respectively (all from the <i>Gospel of Matthew</i> ).

## B) Glosses to BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospels*

Editions	Weber et al. (2007).
Translations	Bagster (1872).
Literature	Turner (1931); Lampe (1969); Gameson (1994); Marsden (1995).
Script/Dating	Ink glosses “in square Anglo-Saxon minuscule script by more than one hand, sec. x” (Ker 1957: 5); “late in the tenth century” (Wormald & Alexander 1977: 3). Meritt (1961: 443) suggests the dry-point glosses are contemporary with the ink glosses.
Literature	None known.

Description	49 OE dry-point glosses and 62 OE ink glosses.
DOEC 2009	<T26 550.xml> “OccGl 51.1 (Nap)”, 62 glosses representing Napier’s (1900: 234–235 [no. 61]) edition.  <T26 560.xml> “OccGl 51.1.1 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt’s (1961) edition.  The glosses edited in Napier’s lengthy footnote on dry-point glosses (1900: xxxiii, n. 2d) are not included.

## 1) Glosses to BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospel of Matthew*, ff. 22<sup>v</sup>–63<sup>r</sup>

### a) Old English

Description	30 dry-point glosses and 47 ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: xxxiii, n. 2d), mentioning 4 OE dry-point glosses in a footnote.  Napier (1900: 234–235), editing 47 OE ink glosses.  Meritt (1961: 443 [no. 5]), editing 28 OE dry-point glosses <sup>8</sup> , partly including Napier’s (1900) reports. Meritt was definitely aware of Napier’s edition of dry-point glosses, as he explicitly mentions Napier’s footnote. However, Meritt’s treatment of Napier’s material is rather confusing: for 1 gloss Meritt represents a different reading (OE <i>hwæm</i> ) than Napier (OE <i>on hwæm</i> ) without any comment; for a second gloss Meritt’s reading coincides with Napier’s (OE <i>ne gewit</i> ) and 2 further glosses mentioned by Napier are not in Meritt’s list at all, namely L. <i>nescimus</i> (Mt 21:27) – OE <i>witon</i> on f. 50 <sup>r</sup> and L. <i>lampadibus</i> (Mt 25:3) – OE <i>leoht</i> on f. 55 <sup>v</sup> .

### b) Latin

Description	The facsimiles that were available to me suggest only intermittent glossing in Latin.
Editions	None known.

8 Meritt’s (1961) folio counting diverges in large parts from the usual foliation. For instance, while Napier (1900) and Meritt (1961) agree for Mt 5:13 to be on f. 28<sup>r</sup>, Meritt reports a dry-point gloss to L. *plus* (Mt 20:10; no. 11 in his edition) to be on f. 49<sup>r</sup>, but f. 49<sup>r</sup> starts with L. *redemptionem* (Mt 20:28) and ends in L. *David* (Mt 21:9), as can be seen in Wormald & Giles’s (1977: Pl. XXVI) facsimile of f. 49<sup>r</sup>. Napier (1900), on the other hand, correctly reports an ink gloss to L. *subiugalis* (Mt 21:5; gloss no. 25 in his edition) on f. 49<sup>r</sup>.

## 2) Glosses to BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospel of Mark*, ff. 64<sup>r</sup>–86<sup>v</sup>

### a) *Old English*

Description	15 dry-point glosses and 15 ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 235), editing 15 OE ink glosses. Meritt (1961: 443 [no. 5]) editing 15 OE dry-point glosses.

### b) *Latin*

Description	The facsimile of f. 83 <sup>v</sup> in Wormald & Alexander (1977: Pl. E) – showing Mk 14:43–48 – suggests only sparse glossing in Latin.
Edition	None known.

## 3) Glosses to BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospel of Luke* ff. 87<sup>v</sup>–127<sup>v</sup>

### a) *Old English*

Description	4 OE dry-point glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: xxxiii, n. 2d), mentioning 1 OE dry-point gloss <i>let idle</i> glossing L. <i>dimisit inanes</i> (Lk 1: 53) on f. 90 <sup>r</sup> . Meritt (1961: 443 [no. 5]), editing an additional 3 OE dry-point glosses.

### b) *Latin*

Description	No information available.
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## [9/K:94] Cambridge (UK), Trinity College Library O. 2. 30, ff. 129–172

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, vellum (James 1902: 126).
Dimensions	Ca. 216×144 mm.
Leaf numbering	1 front flyleaf + ff. 1–178.

Codicology	Bound together with two unrelated MS parts. Part I (ff. 1–72): PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, <i>De unitate S. Trinitatis</i> ; excerpts in dialogue form from ISIDORE, <i>Differentiae and Etymologiae</i> and ISIDORE, <i>De fide catholica</i> , sec. xi/xii (James 1902: 126), formerly belonging to St Mary Overey (Southwark). Part II (ff. 71–128): OSBERN OF CANTERBURY, <i>Vita S. Dunstani</i> , sec. xii, early (James 1902: 127).
Layout	Single column; no information about the written space available; 29 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	“Headings in fine uncials, red and black” (James 1902: 127); unfinished drawing on f. 129 <sup>r</sup> .
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>med.</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 46); square Anglo-Saxon minuscule, sec. x <sup>med.</sup> (Ker 1957: 137). Sec. ix, in a “beautiful round hand of rather Celtic appearance” (James 1902: 127).
Contents of Part III	
f. 129 <sup>r</sup>	An erased inscription in three lines; two lines in red and an unfinished drawing.
f. 129 <sup>v</sup>	A list of sins in three columns (cf. Rusche 2002: 182–183).
f. 130 <sup>r</sup>	PSEUDO-SIMPLICIUS CASINENSIS, <i>Versus in regulam S. Benedicti</i> , followed by some notes on words.
ff. 130 <sup>r</sup> –168 <sup>v</sup>	BENEDICT OF NURSIA, <i>Regula S. Benedicti</i> .
ff. 168 <sup>v</sup> –172 <sup>v</sup>	Four L. sermons in alphabetical order, ending imperfectly, sec. x/xi (cf. Hall 2006).
ff. 173–178	Blank leaves.
Origin	Canterbury, St Augustine’s (Bishop 1957: 324; Gneuss 2001: 46).
Provenance	Medieval ownership unknown; bought by Thomas Gale at an auction in 1682 and donated to Trinity College by Roger Gale in 1738 (cf. Ker 1957: 137).
Literature	James (1902: 126–129 [no. 1134]); Ker (1957: 137 [no. 94]); Vaciago (1993: 9 [no. 33]); Cameron (1973: C48.2); Meyvaert (1963: 102–103); Gneuss (2001: 46 [no. 189]); Dumville (1993: 98); Rusche (2002); Hall (2006); Dumville (1987: 151); Bishop (1957: 324–326).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from the Trinity College, Cambridge web site <sup>9</sup> ; Wright & Hollis (2004: 56–65 [no. 88]); James (1902: Pl. 1).

9 URL: <<http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/show.php?index=652>>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to BENEDICT OF NURSIA, *Regula S. Benedicti*, ff. 130<sup>r</sup>–168<sup>v</sup>

Editions	Venarde (2011).
Translations	Venarde (2011).
Literature	Gretsch (1973); Gretsch (1974).

#### a) Old English

Description	10 OE dry-point glosses and 12 OE ink glosses (including OE <i>leoht</i> , glossing L. <i>leni</i> , which is part of a note added on f. 130 <sup>r</sup> and is not part of the <i>Regula</i> ). Some of the glosses have been cut by a binder.
Editions	Napier (1900: 232 [no. 58]), editing 12 OE ink glosses (on ff. 130 <sup>r</sup> , 130 <sup>v</sup> , 131 <sup>r</sup> , 131 <sup>v</sup> , 145 <sup>r</sup> and 127 <sup>v</sup> ) and 3 OE dry-point glosses (all on f. 139 <sup>v</sup> ). Page (1981a: 107), editing another 7 OE dry-point glosses (on ff. 131 <sup>v</sup> , 139 <sup>v</sup> and 140 <sup>r</sup> ), reporting further illegible scratches; also largely confirming Napier's edition, but not able to "find any trace of the word <i>leoht</i> " (as reported by Napier 1900).
Script/Dating	Sec. xi (Napier 1900: xxii; Ker 1957: 137). "The Old English inked glosses are in more than one hand" (Page 1981a: 106).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26480.xml> "BenRGI 2 (Nap)", representing Napier (1900: 232). Page (1981a) is not included.

#### b) Latin

Description	Numerous L. glosses, usually grouped as a L.-L. glossary at the end of each chapter (cf. James 1902: 128; Page 1981a: 106), but also inter-linear glosses.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	No information available.
Literature	None known.



# [10/K:95] Cambridge (UK), Trinity College Library

## O. 2. 31

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, vellum (James 1902: 129).
Dimensions	Ca. 208×132 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. i–ii (front fly leaves) + ff. 1–45 + f. iii (back fly leaf).
Codicology	Collation (James 1902: 131): 1 <sup>8</sup> (wants 1) 4 <sup>8</sup> 5 <sup>7</sup> (two left)   6 <sup>8</sup> (wants 1) 7 <sup>7</sup> (four left) 8 <sup>6</sup> (wants 1, 6).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 170×95 mm; 25 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Some ornate initials of Wormald Type II(b) on ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> , 35 <sup>r</sup> and 43 <sup>r</sup> ink only; f. 34 <sup>r</sup> ink filled with red and green (cf. Temple 1976: 56). Enlarged initials in red or green.
Script/Dating	Sec. x/xi (Gneuss 2001: 46); English Caroline minuscule, sec. x/xi (Ker 1957: 137); sec. x, second half (Temple 1976: 56).
Contents	
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –33 <sup>v</sup>	PROSPER, <i>Epigrammata</i> .
ff. 34 <sup>r</sup> –40 <sup>v</sup>	PSEUDO-CATO, <i>Disticha Catonis</i> , ending imperfectly ... <i>mens quoque nobis</i> .
ff. 41 <sup>r</sup> –43 <sup>v</sup>	BEDA, <i>De die iudicii</i> , the three leaves are in reverse order, ending imperfectly ... <i>miser omnibus horis</i> (but cf. f. 45).
ff. 44 <sup>r</sup> –49 <sup>v</sup>	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Dittochaeon</i> ( <i>Tituli historiarum</i> ), leaves in wrong order and beginning imperfectly <i>Risit sarra casa</i> ... (but cf. f. 45 below).
· f. 44 <sup>r</sup>	Ending of PRUDENTIUS, <i>Dittochaeon</i> ( <i>Tituli historiarum</i> ).
· f. 44 <sup>v</sup>	Blank, pen trials.
· f. 45	Inserted paper leaf – sec. xvi (James 1902: 131), containing the ending of BEDA, <i>De die iudicii</i> and the beginning of PRUDENTIUS, <i>Dittochaeon</i> ( <i>Tituli historiarum</i> ).
Origin	Canterbury, Christ Church (James 1902: 129; Ker 1957: 9; Bishop 1963b: 413).
Provenance	Medieval ownership unknown; belonged to Thomas Gale and was donated to Trinity College by Roger Gale in 1738 (cf. Ker 1957: 138).

Literature	James (1902: 129–131 [no. 1135]); Ker (1957: 137–138 [no. 95]); Vacia-go (1993: 9–10 [no. 34]); Temple (1976: 56 [no. 30(vi)]); Bishop (1963b: 413–414, 421–422 [no. 6]); Gneuss (2001: 46 [no. 190]); Laistner (1943: 127).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from the Trinity College, Cambridge web site; <sup>10</sup> Wright & Hollis (2004: 66–71 [no. 89]).

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to PROSPER, *Epigrammata*, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>v</sup>

Editions	<i>PL</i> (51: 497–532).
Translations	Santelia (2009: 105–193) [It.].
Literature	Toth (1984).

#### a) Old English

Description	12 OE dry-point glosses and 28 OE ink glosses. Further dry-point glosses reported.
Editions	Förster (1917a), editing 14 ink glosses.  Meritt (1945: 26 [no. 24]), editing 28 ink glosses (including those edited in Förster 1917a) and 5 dry-point glosses.  Page (1981a: 107–109), reporting another 7 dry-point glosses (on ff. 5 <sup>r</sup> , 5 <sup>v</sup> , 12 <sup>v</sup> and 15 <sup>v</sup> ) and adding some correction to Meritt's (1945) edition; also pointing out that there are more dry-point glosses that are indecipherable to him.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>med</sup> . (Ker 1957: 137).
Language	Ker (1957: 138) notes the Kentish forms OE <i>swese</i> , <i>gemene</i> and <i>pe-cunges</i> , supporting the assumption that the MS might have been in Canterbury at the time of glossing.
Literature	Cameron (1973: C.93.1).
DOEC 2009	<T27410.xml> "OccGl 93.1 (Meritt)", representing Meritt's (1945: 26 [no. 24]) edition.  Page (1981a) is not included.

<sup>10</sup> URL: <<http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/show.php?index=653>>.

*b) French*

Description	Several (3?) French glosses on f. 32 <sup>r</sup> .
Editions	None known. <sup>11</sup>
Script/Dating	Sec. xii (Ker 1957: 137).

*c) Latin*

Description	Numerous L. glosses.
Editions	None known.
Literature	Lapidge (1982b: 105–108).

**2) Glosses to PSEUDO-CATO, *Disticha Catonis*, ff. 34<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>**

Editions	Boas (1952).
Translations	Chase (1922); Duff & Duff (1961: 583–639).
Literature	Duff & Duff (1961: 583–591).

*a) Old English*

Description	1 OE dry-point gloss and 1 OE ink gloss.
Editions	Meritt (1945: 21 [no. 13]), reporting 1 ink (f. 40 <sup>r</sup> ) and 1 dry-point gloss (f. 34 <sup>r</sup> ).
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>med</sup> . (Ker 1957: 137).
Literature	Cameron (1973: C.55.1).
DOEC 2009	<T26680.xml> “OccGl 55.1 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 21 [no. 13]).

*b) Latin*

Description	Numerous L. glosses.
Editions	None known.

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11 I am quite certain that there must be an edition of these glosses in existence, but I have not been able to find it yet.

### 3) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Dittochaeon* (*Tituli historiarum*), ff. 44<sup>r</sup>–49<sup>v</sup>

Editions	Cunningham (1966: 390–400).
Translations	Thomson (1949/53: II, 346–371); Fels (2011: 333–345) [G].
Literature	Pillinger (1980).

#### a) *Old English or Old French*

Description	1 dry-point gloss OE / OF <i>catel</i> on L. <i>gregis</i> ‘of the flock’.
Editions	Page (1981a: 109), mentioning the dry-point gloss in running text, without stating the fol. on which it occurs (i. e. f. 47 <sup>r</sup> , l. 25). <sup>12</sup>
Script / Dating	None known.
Language	Since the MS contains OF ink glosses (cf. B.1.b. above) as well as OE ink and dry-point glosses, Page (1981a: 109) concludes that the form <i>catel</i> could be both OE or OF.
DOEC 2009	Not included.

#### b) *Latin*

Description	No L. ink glosses.
Editions	None known.

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12 Judging from the on-line facsimile (URL: <<http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/show.php?index=653>>), it is highly likely that there are more dry-point glosses left to be deciphered from this text, which may of course give valuable extra data to re-address the vexed OE / OF issue in connection with the lonely gloss that has been edited so far. The facsimile of f. 47<sup>r</sup> shows distinct dry-point traces above L. *parvus* (l. 24), exactly one line above L. *gregis*, for instance. I cannot read them in the facsimile, though. There are also several dry-point traces visible in the right hand margin. Staring at my computer screen, I think I can see suspicious lines in several of interlinear spots on neighbouring folios, too. However, it may well be that the compression algorithms of JPEG are responsible for some of the suspicious-looking artefacts.

**[11/K:24] Cambridge (UK), University Library Kk. 3. 21****A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, parchment (Binski & Zutshi 2001: 6; Gibson & Smith 1995: 44).
Dimensions	Ca. 300×235 mm.
Leaf numbering	F. i (modern) + ff. 1–104 + f. ii (modern).
Codicology	Full speckled calf with two blind-tooled frames, sec. xvii <sup>m</sup> . (Binski & Zutshi 2001: 7).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 178–198×114 mm; 20–22 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Gold initials to each book; chapter initials in black or red ink; red initials at beginning of all meters.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>1</sup> or x <sup>med</sup> . (Gneuss 2001: 29); the prose is written in Caroline minuscule and the verse in capitalis rustica, sec. x/xi (Ker 1957: 37).
Contents	
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –103 <sup>r</sup>	BOETHIUS, <i>De consolazione philosophiae</i> .
f. 103 <sup>v</sup>	A set of L. verses for the Assumption of the Virgin, sec. xi – facsimile in Binski & Zutshi (2001: 7), edition in Clayton (1986).
f. 104 <sup>v</sup>	The words <i>byrnstan beoffan sunu ælfnoð ælrices sunu æt hrocanlea</i> written twice, once in sprawling pencil, and once in ink, on the originally blank leaf at the end of the last quire of the MS (Ker 1957: 38).
f. 104 <sup>v</sup>	The names of fifteen winds, L. and OE, added sec. xi <sup>med</sup> . (Ker 1957: 37).
Origin	Possibly Abingdon, see below.
Provenance	Abingdon, based on the inscriptions on f. 103 <sup>v</sup> – referring to Abingdon's bishop <i>Siward</i> – and f. 104 <sup>v</sup> – referring to a place-name near Abingdon (Ker 1957: 38 [no. 24]). MS first appears in University Library records in 1556/1557 (Ker 1957: 38).
Literature	Gibson & Smith (1995: 44–45 [no. 9]); Binski & Zutshi (2001: 6–7); <i>CMLUC</i> (3: 630); Ker (1957: 37–38 [no. 24]); Vaciago (1993: 4 [no. 10]); Ker (1964: 2); Clemoes (1985: 21–22 [no. 35]); Leedham-Green & McKitterick (1997: 216 [no. 15]); Szarmach (2000); Gneuss (2001: 29 [no. 23]); Cameron (1973: C.53.2); Clarke (2002: 81 [no. 38]).
Facsimiles	Szarmach (2000: 137): f. 49 <sup>v</sup> ; Binski & Zutshi (2001: 6–7): f. 1 <sup>r</sup> , f. 15 <sup>v</sup> and f. 103 <sup>v</sup> .

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to BOETHIUS, *De consolatione philosophiae*, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–103<sup>r</sup>

Editions	Moreschini (2000).
Translations	Walsh (1999).
Literature	Gruber (2006); Kaylor (1992); Marenbon (2009).

#### a) *Old English*

Description	93 OE dry-point glosses and 2 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Ker (1957: 38 [no. 24]), reporting glosses “scratched with a hard point and [...] sometimes hardly legible: the best preserved are on f. 86”. No reading is provided.  Meritt (1961: 443–445 [no. 6]), editing 85 OE dry-point glosses and 2 OE ink glosses.  Page (1981a: 109–111), reporting corrections to Meritt (1961) and 8 additional OE dry-point glosses.  Rusche (1994: 203, n. 48), stating that he has “seen in the manuscript a large amount [of dry-point glosses] still unpublished, many of which are clearly visible”, but not editing any of them.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi (Meritt 1961: 444).
Literature	Page (2001: 219–228); Godden (2011: 72–74).
DOEC 2009	<T26640.xml> “OccGl 53.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1961: 443–445 [no. 6]).  Page (1981a) is not included.

#### b) *Latin*

Description	Extensive glossing, both marginally and interlinearly; marginal scholia.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	Marginal and interlinear glosses contemporary with MS; marginal scholia added later (Binski & Zutshi 2001: 6).
Literature	None known.

## [12/K:A41] Fulda (D), Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Bonifatianus 2

### A) Manuscript

Nickname	“Codex Ragyndrudis”.
Type	Codex, parchment (Hausmann 1992: 7), parchment (sheep?) (Jakobi-Mirwald 1993: 18).
Dimensions	Ca. 280–285×125–130 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. 1–143.
Codicology	Southern French binding, sec. viii, first half ( <i>BStK</i> : 453). The cover of the MS shows deep cuts and rust traces of a nail that was driven through the MS.
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 180–190×125–130 mm; 19–22 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	Luxeuil minuscule, sec. viii <sup>1</sup> ( <i>CLA</i> 8: 1197); sec. viii, first half (Jakobi-Mirwald 1993: 18).
Contents	Collection of dogmatic, anti-Arian writings and symbola (creeds), plus ISIDORE, <i>Synonyma</i> . Detailed listing taken from Hofmann (1963: 52–53):
ff. 2 <sup>v</sup> –11 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Epistula papae Leonis [=Leo I] directam [sic] ad Flavianum episcopum (Constantinopolitanum)</i> .
ff. 11 <sup>v</sup> –14 <sup>v</sup>	<i>(Theodoro episcopo Foroiuliensi, Leo urbis Romae episcopus)</i> .
ff. 14 <sup>v</sup> –34 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Disputatio beati Cerealis episcopi (Castellensis) contra Maximinum Arriomanitam</i> (explicit <i>Dicta</i> ); in jumbled order, which ought to be: f. 14 <sup>v</sup> , ff. 23 <sup>r</sup> –30 <sup>v</sup> , ff. 15 <sup>r</sup> –22 <sup>v</sup> , ff. 31 <sup>r</sup> –34 <sup>r</sup> .
ff. 34 <sup>r</sup> –39 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Epistula Agnelli [episcopi Ravennatensis] ad Arminium de ratione fidei</i> .
ff. 39 <sup>r</sup> –45 <sup>r</sup>	FAUSTUS REIENSIS, <i>De ratione fidei: Libellum Fausti confessoris [episcopi Reiensis] (De ratione fidei)</i> (explicit <i>Liber s̄ci Fausti confessoris</i> ).
ff. 45 <sup>r</sup> –47 <sup>v</sup>	(PSEUDO-)AMBROSIUS, <i>Fides catholica: Fides edita s̄ci Ambrosi episcopi de spiritu sancto</i> (explicit <i>Sermo de spiritu sancto</i> ).
ff. 47 <sup>v</sup> –53 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Testimonia de (deo) patri et filio et spiritu sancto</i> .
ff. 53 <sup>v</sup> –55 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Regula fidei catholicae facta a Nicena</i> (explicit <i>Regula S̄ci Hieronimi</i> ).

ff. 55 <sup>r</sup> –55 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Regula fidei secundum CCCXVIII patris</i> [sic].
ff. 56 <sup>r</sup> –57 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Regula fidei catholicae contra omnes hereses Hieronimi praesb.</i>
ff. 57 <sup>r</sup> –61 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Explanacio fidei catholicae.</i>
ff. 62 <sup>r</sup> –96 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Sci Ambrosi de bono mortis.</i>
ff. 96 <sup>r</sup> –97 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Notitia regionum et civitatum quibus sc̄orum apostolorum et evangelistarum venerabilia corpora requiescunt.</i>
ff. 98 <sup>r</sup> –143 <sup>r</sup>	ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, <i>Synonyma: Liber [primus] (+ secundus) s̄ci Ysidori (episcopi) (solii)</i> .
f. 143 <sup>v</sup>	Donatory inscription L. [...] <i>ego Ragyndrudis ordinavi librum istum [...]</i> , sec. viii <sup>1</sup> (cf. Jakobi-Mirwald 1993: 18 [erroneously typing “243 <sup>v</sup> ”]).
Origin	Luxeuil (F) or “a centre under its immediate influence” (CLA 8: 1197); possibly Mainz (Hofmann 1963: 454). An inscription of f. 143 <sup>v</sup> indicates that the MS was produced at the behest of a certain Ragyndrudis.
Provenance	According to legend, Boniface tried in vain to protect himself from being slain by angry Frisians in AD 754 by holding the MS above his head and shielding himself from their sword blows. According to Hofmann the MS was used as a relic in Fulda since sec. x as part of the Fulda Cathedral treasures. The MS was incorporated into the collection of Fulda’s public library in the 18 <sup>th</sup> c.; since 1954 stored in the Fulda Cathedral Museum.
Literature	CLA (8: 1197); BStK (453–456 [no. 168]); Hausmann (1992: 7–10); Jakobi-Mirwald (1993: 18–21); Bergmann (1983: 12–13); Ker (1976: 130 [App. 41]); Vaciago (1993: 11 [no. 44]); Faller (1964: xiii [no. 34]); von Padberg & Stork (1994); Köbler (2005: 133–134).
Facsimiles	CLA (8: 1197): f. 136 <sup>v</sup> (detail), list of earlier facsimiles on p. 67; Köllner (1976: Ills. 4–16 and 924): ff. 14 <sup>v</sup> , 16 <sup>v</sup> , 17 <sup>v</sup> , 57 <sup>v</sup> , 98 <sup>r</sup> , 99 <sup>r</sup> , 99 <sup>v</sup> , 32 <sup>r</sup> , 116 <sup>v</sup> , 117 <sup>r</sup> , 55 <sup>v</sup> , 22 <sup>v</sup> , 142 <sup>v</sup> and back binding cover; von Padberg & Stork (1994: Ills. 8–9, 11 and 14–22): front cover, back cover, back cover (before restoration in 1978), ff. 1 <sup>v</sup> –2 <sup>r</sup> , ff. 16 <sup>v</sup> –17 <sup>r</sup> , f. 16 <sup>v</sup> , f. 39 <sup>r</sup> , f. 55 <sup>v</sup> , ff. 98 <sup>v</sup> –99 <sup>r</sup> , ff. 103 <sup>v</sup> –104 <sup>r</sup> , ff. 116 <sup>v</sup> –117 <sup>r</sup> , f. 143 <sup>v</sup> .



## B) Glosses

Prelim. remark      Hofmann (1963: 53–55, n. 1) reports that he could see dry-point traces on 180 pages, but he could only read a handful of the glosses with any certainty. Jakobi-Mirwald (1993: 19a) lists the following passages as showing traces of dry-point activity: f. 10<sup>r</sup>, ll. 14–16; f. 44<sup>r</sup>, bottom margin; f. 45<sup>r</sup>, l. 10; f. 76<sup>r</sup>, l. 14; f. 100<sup>r</sup>, ll. 7–8, f. 101<sup>r</sup>, top margin; f. 104<sup>r</sup>, bottom margin; f. 117<sup>r</sup>, l. 21; f. 120<sup>r</sup>, ll. 8–9; f. 123<sup>r</sup>, l. 1. According to her, they have become practically illegible after the MS was restored in 1978. The assumption is that the remaining glosses are in L., OHG and possibly OE, too, but no particulars can be found in the literature.

### 1) Glosses to FAUSTUS REIENSIS, *De ratione fidei*, ff. 34<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>r</sup>

Editions              PL 58; Engelbrecht (1891: 451–459).  
 Translations        None known.  
 Literature            Huhn (1950).

#### a) Old High German

Description        1 OHG dry-point gloss on f. 44<sup>r</sup>; more material is hinted at by Hofmann, but not edited.  
 Editions            Hofmann (1963: 56), editing 1 OHG dry-point gloss, discovered by himself (i. e. presumably not noticed by Bernhard Bischoff).  
 Script/Dating      Continental minuscule, sec. viii–ix (Hofmann 1963: 54).  
 Language           Undetermined (cf. *BStK*: 455).  
 Literature          *BStK* (453–456 [no. 168]); Glaser (1996: 55, 64–67); Hofmann (1963: 52–57 [no. I. 4]).

### 2) Glosses to (PSEUDO-)AMBROSIUS, *Fides catholica*, ff. 45<sup>r</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>

Editions            Huhn (1953); Faller (1964: 5–14).  
 Translations        None known.  
 Literature           None known.

*a) Old English or Old High German*

Description	1 OHG dry-point gloss on f. 45 <sup>r</sup> whose reading is uncertain and whose language has not been determined conclusively.
Editions	Hofmann (1963: 56), editing 1 gloss of uncertain linguistic status that had been pointed out to him by Bernhard Bischoff.
Script/Dating	Anglo-Saxon minuscule (Hofmann: 56).
Language	Undetermined.
Literature	Hofmann (1963: 52–57 [no. I. 4]).

**3) Glosses to ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Synonyma*, ff. 98<sup>v</sup>–143<sup>r</sup>**

Editions	Elfassi (2009); <i>PL</i> (83: 825–868).
Translations	Throop (2012).
Literature	Di Sciacca (2008: 16–76).

*a) Old English*

Description	4 OE dry-point glosses, numerous undeciphered dry-point traces.
Editions	<i>CLA</i> (8: 1197), reports that “[n]umerous Anglo-Saxon vernacular glosses are scratched in”.  Hofmann (1963: 53–57), editing 4 OE dry-point glosses (2 of them pointed out to him by Bernhard Bischoff); many more undeciphered dry-point scratches reported (cf. Hofmann 1963: 53–54, n. 1).
Script/Dating	Anglo-Saxon minuscule, sec. viii (Hofmann 1963: 54).
Literature	Di Sciacca (2008: 73).
DOEC 2009	<T27090.xml> “OccGl 78.4 (Hofmann)”, representing Hofmann (1963: 53–57).

# [13/K:121\*] Kassel (D), Universitätsbibliothek 2° Ms. theol. 65

## A) Manuscript

Nickname	“Kassel Hegesippus”.
Type	Codex, parchment (Wiedemann 1994: 96). “Parchment very fine” ( <i>CLA</i> 8: 1139).
Dimensions	Ca. 275×215 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. 1–158.
Codicology	Parchment binding sec. viii <sup>ex</sup> or ix; incised runic alphabet on back cover; former press mark <i>xxxvi. or. 8</i> on front cover.
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 230–240×170 mm; 36 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Initials in red colour; decorated explicit in red colour; ink drawing of an oath gesture on f. 45 <sup>r</sup> .
Script/Dating	Half uncial by one hand, sec. vi; cursive notes by several hands, sec. vi/vii or vii/viii; corrections and additions possibly by the hand of Boniface (AD 672/675–754) or his circle.
Contents	
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –158 <sup>v</sup>	PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS, <i>De bello Iudaico</i> (starting Bk. I, Ch. 13; passages missing).
Origin	Based on the script the codex was probably composed in Northern Italy, sec. vi (Ker 1957: 93 and Meritt 1961: 448).
Provenance	The MS reached Fulda after presumably passing through England; around 1632 the MS was transferred to Kassel along with other MSS; the MS was assumed to be lost during World War II but was re-discovered in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin after the war; it was returned to Kassel in 1989.
Literature	<i>CLA</i> (8: 1139); <i>BStK</i> (735–736 [no. 334]); Ker (1957: 157 [no. 121*]); Vaciago (1993: 12 [no. 48]); Derolez (1954: 270 [no. 17]); Wiedemann (1994: 96); Bergmann (1983: 18); Gneuss (2001: 127 [no. 834]); Broszinski & Heyne (1994: 22); Lehmann (1925: 15–16); Köbler (2005: 197–198); Cameron (1973: C.63); Lapidge (1996: 444 [no. 20]).
Facsimiles	Digital greyscale microfilm facsimile online available from “ORKA – Open Repository Kassel”. <sup>13</sup>

13 URL: <<http://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1300794951988/1/>>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS, *De bello Iudaico*, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–158<sup>v</sup>

Editions	Ussani (1932).
Translations	Pearse (2005).
Literature	None known.

#### a) Old English

Description	2 OE dry-point glosses on f. 9 <sup>v</sup> and 11 <sup>v</sup> , possibly a third on f. 10 <sup>v</sup> (Hofmann 1963: 52).
Editions	<p>CLA (8: 1139), only mentioning the Anglo-Saxon runes on the binding (see below), but nothing about glosses.</p> <p>Stach (1950: 14), reporting Bernhard Bischoff's notes on the MS: "f. 9v. 10v. 11v. 30v. 50r. 78r Einritzungen [i.e. 'scratches']; f. 91v Marg.-Gl. [i.e. 'marginal gloss']", without specifying the language.</p> <p>Meritt (1961: 448 [no. 14]), editing 2 OE dry-point glosses, from f. 9<sup>v</sup> and f. 11<sup>v</sup>.</p> <p>Hofmann (1963: 50–52), editing 2 OE dry-point glosses (and 2 OHG dry-point glosses), only based on Bischoff's notes,<sup>14</sup> mentioning a third (possibly OE) dry-point gloss above L. <i>dissimilantem</i> on f. 10<sup>v</sup>.</p>
Script/Dating	Insular minuscule with runic wynn, sec. viii.
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26770.xml> "OccGl 63 (Meritt)", representing Meritt (1961: 448), however the form OE <i>wregendro</i> seems to be taken from Hofmann's (1963: 51) edition; Meritt has OE <i>wregendra</i> .

#### b) Old High German

Description	2 OHG dry-point glosses on f. 30 <sup>v</sup> and 91 <sup>v</sup> .
Editions	Stach (1950: 14), reporting Bernhard Bischoff's notes on the MS: "f. 9v. 10v. 11v. 30v. 50r. 78r Einritzungen [i.e. 'scratches']; f. 91v Marg.-Gl. [i.e. 'marginal gloss']", without specifying the language.

14 It seems that Hofmann was not aware of the fact that the MS had resurfaced in East Berlin after having been lost during World War II.

Meritt (1961: 448 [no. 14]), mentioning “traces of another [dry-point] gloss which seemd to me to be Old High German”.

Hofmann (1963: 50–52), editing 2 OHG dry-point glosses from f. 30<sup>v</sup> and f. 91<sup>v</sup> (and 2 OE dry-point glosses), only relying on Bischoff’s notes.<sup>138</sup>

Script/Dating Carolingian minuscule, sec. viii/ix.

Literature Seebold (2001: 38 [No. 27]); Glaser (1996: 56).

### c) *Latin*

Description Scarce L. glossing and corrections throughout.

Editions None known.

Script/Dating “Korrekturen in früher festländischer und in angelsächsischer Kursive”, i.e. ‘corrections in early Continental and Anglo-Saxon cursive’ (Lehmann 1925: 15).

Literature Köbler (1983: 611).

### d) *Further stylus activity*

Description Runic incised alphabet on back cover and runic incised entry on front cover, perhaps spelling out *iosepi*, referring to the content of the codex (cf. above, p. 26).

Edition Lehmann (1925: 16), editing the runic inscriptions.

*CLA* (8: 1139), mentioning the Anglo-Saxon runes on the covers (but not the dry-point glosses).

Derolez (195: 271–272 and 414), editing and discussing the runic inscriptions.

Script/Dating Anglo-Saxon runes, non-runic symbols and Roman letters, sec. viii/ix (Wiedemann 1994: 96).

Literature Wiedemann (1994: 96).

Facsimiles Lehmann (1925: 16); Derolez (1954: 271).

## [14/K:98\*] Köln (D), Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 213

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, vellum “of the Insular type, well prepared” ( <i>CLA</i> 8: 1163).
Dimensions	Ca. 328–332×230 mm.
Leaf numbering	2 paper front leaves + f. A + ff. 1–143 + 1 paper back leaf.
Codicology	Leather binding of Insular type ( <i>BStK</i> : 778); for collation cf. von Euw (1998: 115).
Layout	Single colum, in some parts of the manuscripts (ff. 16 <sup>v</sup> –18 <sup>v</sup> , 57 <sup>v</sup> –58 <sup>v</sup> , 60 <sup>v</sup> –62 <sup>r</sup> ) four columns; written area: ca. 245–250×150–160 mm; 22–27 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Full page initial on f. 1 <sup>r</sup> ; numerous coloured initials with knot patterns throughout.
Script/Dating	“The last line or lines of many pages [...] are written in minuscule, some of it hybrid (e.g. f. 43) and some of it cursive (e.g. f. 191, reproduced in <i>CLA</i> 8: 1163)”, however mostly written in a “rather poor half-uncial of Phase II” (Brown 1993: 212); “angelsächsische Majuskel und Minuskel von mehreren Händen aus dem Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts”, i.e. ‘Anglo-Saxon majuscule and minuscule in several hands, from the beginning of sec. viii’ ( <i>BStK</i> : 778).
Contents	Based on <i>BStK</i> (778):
1 <sup>st</sup> front leaf	Liturgical writing with neumes.
2 <sup>nd</sup> front leaf	Description of content.
f. A <sup>r</sup>	Early modern signature.
f. A <sup>v</sup>	Empty.
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –143 <sup>r</sup>	Collection of canon law ( <i>Collectio canonum Sanblasiana</i> ), detailed listing in von Euw (1998: 114–115).
f. 143 <sup>r</sup>	Uncial note (sec. viii), reading: L. <i>Sigibertus scripsit</i> .
f. 143 <sup>v</sup>	Empty.
end leaf	Fragmentary writing with neumes.

Origin	Either of Northumbrian or Continental origin, perhaps from Echternach ( <i>BStK</i> : 778). “If it was not written at Lindisfarne itself by a less able contemporary of the [Durham-Echternach] calligrapher’s then Echternach – after the arrival of the Gospels [i.e. Paris (F), Bibliothèque nationale lat. 9389] – seems the most likely place of origin” (Brown 1993: 212). <i>CLA</i> is in clear favour of Northumbrian origin: “Written doubtless in Northumbria” ( <i>CLA</i> 8: 1663).
Provenance	Based on the note on f. 143 <sup>r</sup> , identifying a certain Sigibertus, the MS is thought to have been on the Continent at or around Metz (F) sec. viii <sup>2</sup> . The medieval ownership is unknown. Glaser & Moulin (2009: 1259) claim that the OE and the OHG may have been entered in Echternach (or possibly Metz). Medieval ownership unknown. In sec. xvi the MS was signed – assumedly by the then-owner from Cologne – on f. A <sup>r</sup> . After going through several private hands (for details see <i>BStK</i> : 778), the MS eventually became part of the collection of the Cologne chapter in sec. xviii, in whose library it is housed since 1866.
Literature	<i>CLA</i> (8: 1163); <i>BStK</i> (778–780 [no. 355]); von Euw (1998: 110–116 [no. 18]); Ker (1957: 139 [no. 98*]); Vaciago (1993: 12 [no. 49]); Bergmann (1983: 18); Alexander (1978: 44–45 [no. 13]); Hofmann (1963: 42–44); Gneuss (2001: 128 [no. 836]); Bischoff (1986: 123–124); Netzer (1994: 8–11, 38–41); McKitterick (2000: 506 [no. 8]); Köbler (2005: 210–211); Cameron (1973: C.89.4); Lapidge (1996: 444 [no. 22]).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from “Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis (CEEC)”; <sup>15</sup> Doane (2001: 37–52 [no. 149]).

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to *Canones Sardicensis*, ff. 62<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>v</sup>

Editions	<i>PL</i> (130: 273–278); Elliot (2012: 89–99).
Translations	Hess (2002).
Literature	Hess (2002); Turner (1930: 491–529); Maassen (1870: 51–65, 506).

15 URL: <<http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/ceec-cgi/kleioc/0010/exec/katm/%22kn28-0213%22%22>>.

a) *Old High German*

Description	1 OHG dry-point gloss.
Editions	Stach (1950: 14), summarizing Bernhard Bischoff's notes on the MS: "marg. Griffelgl.", i. e. 'marginal dry-point gloss', without specifying the language of the gloss.  Hofmann (1963: 43), editing 1 OHG dry-point gloss OHG <i>chelactrot</i> in the lower margin of f. 65 <sup>r</sup> (based on Bischoff's notes).
Script/Dating	Franconian minuscule, sec. viii, perhaps middle (Hofmann 1963: 42). Sec. viii, probably middle ( <i>BStK</i> : 780). "Paläographisch recht alt, möglicherweise noch tief aus dem VIII. Jahrhundert stammend, ist auch die Glosse <i>chelactrot</i> in Köln, Dombibl. CCXIII", i. e. 'The gloss <i>chelactrot</i> from Köln, EDDB 213 [14/K:98*] is palaeographically quite ancient, possibly reaching back deeply into the 8th c.' ( <i>BMS</i> 3: 75).
Language	Low Franconian (Hofmann 1963: 42); Middle Franconian (Bergmann 1983: 18); Rhine Franconian (Tiefenbach 1984: 308).
Literature	<i>BMS</i> (3: 75); Glaser (1996: 57, 66–67); Köbler (1993: 609); Glaser & Moulin (2009: 1244); Glaser (2003: 23), with picture of gloss taken in grazing light conditions. <i>CLA</i> (8: 1163) does not mention dry-point glosses.

b) *Latin*

Description	The lemma L. <i>notetur</i> of the OHG interpretamentum <i>chelactrot</i> is a correction in the lower margin for L. <i>depraetur</i> in the text, deleted by means of puncta delentia, however, it is the only correction on f. 65 <sup>r</sup> and there is generally very little interlinear L. glossing present in the MS, but there is a fair number of early marginal glosses.
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2) Glosses to INNOCENT I, *Magna me gratulatio*, ff. 118<sup>r</sup>–123<sup>r</sup>

Editions	<i>PL</i> (130: 715–720); Elliot (2012: 167–174).
Translations	None known.
Literature	Maassen (1870: 245); Jaffé & Wattenbach (1885: 46 [no. 303]).



a) *Old English*

Description	1 marginal dry-point gloss OE <i>hræmgum</i> glossing L. <i>conpotis uotis</i> on f. 122 <sup>v</sup> (the gloss is well discernible in the on-line facsimile).
Editions	Hofmann (1963: 43), editing 1 OE dry-point gloss (based on Bischoff's notes).
Script/Dating	Anglo-Saxon minuscule, sec. viii (Hofmann 1963: 42).
Language	"[F]rüh-altenglisch (ǣ)", i.e. 'early OE ([because of] ǣ)' (Hofmann 1963: 42).
Literature	Bischoff & Lapidge (1994: 153–154). <i>CLA</i> (8: 1163) does not mention dry-point glosses.
DOEC 2009	<T27 320.xml> "OccGl 89.4 (Hofmann)", representing Hofmann (1963).

b) *Latin*

Description	Glaser (2007: 41) reports 1 dry-point gloss L. <i>figura</i> on the same page as the OE dry-point gloss (f. 122 <sup>v</sup> ) in the left margin, line 2; she also points out that it may well be in the same hand as the OE gloss.
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**[15/K:131] London (UK), British Library Additional 40 000****A) Manuscript**

Nickname	"Thorney Gospels".
Type	Codex, vellum ([British Museum] 1933: 279).
Dimensions	Ca. 320×240 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. i–iii + ff. 1–87.
Codicology	Calf binding sec. xviii ([British Museum] 1933: 279).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 200–220×145 mm; 31 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>in</sup> . (Gneuss 2001: 59); Continental minuscule, sec. x <sup>in</sup> . (Ker 1957: 163).

## Contents

- ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>r</sup> Entries in a variety of hands from sec. xi<sup>ex</sup>. to sec. xv ([British Museum] 1933: 277), relating to Thorney Abbey, (ed. Jørgensen 1933: 187; cf. Clark 1995a, 1995b and 1995c).
- f. 4<sup>r</sup> An OE inscription, sec. xi<sup>2</sup>, referring to a former binding, printed in Ker (1957: 163).
- ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>v</sup> Tables of the Eusebian canons (the arches unfinished).
- ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup> Entries in a variety of hands (cf. ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>).
- ff. 13<sup>r</sup>–87<sup>v</sup> BIBLE, *Gospels* (Vulgate); one leaf missing at the end (from Jn 20:5 “uidit linteamina”).
- f. 30<sup>r</sup> Three lines of L. verse in the bottom margin, probably by the same hand as the dry-point glosses (Ker 1957: 163).
- Origin Origin unknown, but certainly on the Continent; “France, prob. Brittany, or SW France?” (Gneuss 2001: 59); “Central France” (Glunz 1933: xiv [no. 14]); “N. France or Netherlands?” ([British Museum] 1933: 279).
- Provenance Used ca. AD 1100 and later as a *liber vitae* of the abbey of Thorney. After the dissolution of the monasteries in John Parker’s possession (cf. Ker 1957: 163), then bought by Sir Thomas Mostyn in 1692 (note on inside cover), whose descendants sold it to the British Museum in 1920.
- Literature [British Museum] (1933: 276–279); Ker (1957: 163 [no. 131]); Vacia-go (1993: 13 [no. 51]); Clark (1995a; 1995b; 1995c); Gneuss (2001: 59 [no. 295]); Deuffic (1985: 300 [no. 40]); Cameron (1973: C.51.2); *BLOC* (s.v. “Additional 40 000”<sup>16</sup>); *BLCoIM* (s.v. “Additional 40 000”<sup>17</sup>).
- Facsimiles *BLCoIM* (s.v. “Additional 40 000”): inside front cover, ff. 1<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup> and 48<sup>r</sup>. Some of the OE dry-point glosses are actually legible in the facsimile of f. 48<sup>r</sup>.

16 URL: <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS032-002059968](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS032-002059968)>.

17 URL: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8651>>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospels*, ff. 13<sup>r</sup>–87<sup>v</sup>

Editions	Weber et al. (2007).
Translations	Bagster (1872).
Literature	Turner (1931); Lampe (1969); Gameson (1994); Marsden (1995).

#### a) *Old English*

Description	52 dry-point (and/or pencil?) glosses on ff. 30 <sup>r</sup> –32 <sup>v</sup> ( <i>Gospel of Matthew</i> ) and f. 48 <sup>r</sup> ( <i>Gospel of Luke</i> ). 2 OE ink glosses on f. 29 <sup>r</sup> ( <i>Gospel of Matthew</i> ).
Editions	Ker (1957: 163), editing 2 OE ink glosses and mentioning 42 dry-point and pencil glosses (giving 5 of them as a sample). Meritt (1961: 442–443 [no. 4]), editing 2 OE ink glosses and 52 OE dry-point glosses (no mention of pencil), including those edited by Ker.
Script/Dating	Ker (1957: 163) dates the glosses in ink sec. xi and the dry-point glosses sec. x <sup>1</sup> .
Literature	Toon (1985: 321).
DOEC 2009	<T26 570.xml> “OccGl 51.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1961: 442–443 [no. 4]).

#### b) *Latin*

Description	Judging from few available online facsimiles, there does not seem to be any sizable amount of L. glossing or corrections to the main text.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	No information available.
Literature	None known.

**[16/K:145] London (UK), British Library Cotton Cleopatra C. viii, ff. 4–37**

**A) Manuscript**

Type	Part of a compound codex.
Dimensions	Ca. 215×140 mm.
Leaf numbering	171 fos.; ff. 1–3 (early modern endleaves) + ff. 4–37 + ff. 38–171 (a collection of canon laws, sec. xi <sup>ex</sup> ). Some publications – such as Stettiner (1905) or Temple (1976) – ignore the modern endleaves, so their foliation is three folios behind.
Codicology	Binding: British Museum 1847.
Layout	No information available, all the facsimiles that are available to me only show details of illuminations.
Ornamentation	82 drawings with L. titles.
Script/Dating	Sec. x/xi (Gneuss 2001: 62); English Caroline minuscule, sec. x/xi (Ker 1957: 185).
Contents of Part I	
ff. 4 <sup>r</sup> –37 <sup>v</sup>	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Psychomachia</i> .
f. 37 <sup>v</sup>	(PSEUDO-)COLUMBANUS, <i>Praecepta vivendi</i> (fragmentary).
Origin	Canterbury, Christ Church (Bishop 1963b: 421).
Provenance	Medieval ownership unknown. Signed by ‘Robertus Cotton Bruceus’ on f. 4. Lent by Cotton to Ussher before 23 April 1621 (cf. Ker 1957: 185). Incorporated in the British Museum in 1753.
Literature	Ker (1957: 185 [no. 145 a.]); Vaciago (1993: 14 [no. 56]); Cameron (1973: C.94.6); Wieland (1985); Wieland (1987); Korhammer (1980: 58); Temple (1976: 70–71 [no. 49]); Wanley (1705: 245); Planta (1802: 582); Gneuss (2001: 62 [no. 324]); Hartzell (2006: 244 [no. 132]); <i>BLOC</i> (s. v. “Cotton MS Cleopatra C VIII” <sup>18</sup> ); Bishop (1963b: 421 [no. 7]).
Facsimiles	Temple (1976: Ills. 159–162): f. 10 <sup>v</sup> , f. 11 <sup>r</sup> , f. 28 <sup>v</sup> , f. 29 <sup>r</sup> . A list of other printed facsimiles (mainly miniatures) is given in Temple (1976: 71).

18 URL: <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-001103779](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-001103779)>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to PRUDENTIUS, *Psychomachia*, ff. 4–37<sup>v</sup>

Editions	Cunningham (1966: 149–181).
Translations	Thomson (1949/53: I, 274–343); Fels (2011: 124–153) [G.].
Literature	Smith (1976); Gnllka (2000–2003).

#### a) *Old English*

##### i) Translations

Description	83 of the illustrations have L. titles with OE translations. Their position in the MS allows for the conclusion that the OE translations were added later than the L. glosses in the MS. Some of them have been rubbed or partly cut away by the binder.
Editions	Zupitza (1876), giving the L. titles with their corresponding translations both from this MS and from Cambridge, CCC 23. The two translations do not seem to be related.
Script/Dating	Caroline minuscule in brown ink in an uneven hand, sec. xi <sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 185).
Language	Short discussion in Zupitza (1876: 44).
Literature	Wieland (2001).
DOEC 2009	<T25 780.xml> “PrudT 2”, representing Zupitza (1876).

##### ii) Interlinear Ink Glosses

Description	59 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 215–216 [no. 50]), listing 58 ink glosses from ff. 7 <sup>r</sup> –37 <sup>r</sup> . Ker (1957: 185 [no. 145 b.]), adding 1 ink gloss from f. 32 <sup>v</sup> .
Script/Dating	Caroline minuscule in brown ink in an uneven hand, sec. xi <sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 185).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T27 490.xml> “PrudGl 6 (Nap-Ker)”, representing Napier (1900: 215–216 [no. 50]) and Ker (1957: 185 [no. 145 b.]).

## iii) Dry-Point Glosses

Description	OE dry-point glosses on f. 9 are reported by Napier (1900: xxi), however he “ignored them altogether” (xxxiii) in his edition without giving a sample.
Editions	None known.

b) *Latin*

Description	L. ink glosses, fairly numerous throughout the MS.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	The placing of some of the OE translations suggests that at least some of the L. glosses pre-date them (Ker 1957: 185).
Literature	None known.

**[17/K:198] London (UK), British Library Cotton Tiberius C. ii****A) Manuscript**

Nickname	“Tiberius Bede”, “Cotton Bede”.
Type	Codex, vellum (Thompson & Warner 1884: 78).
Dimensions	Ca. 280×220 mm.
Leaf numbering	155 leaves, foliation: ff. 3–157 (the former fly-leaves from a 14 <sup>th</sup> -c. psalter are now reconstructed as London, British Library Royal 13. D. 1).
Layout	Double columns; written area: ca. 220–230×190 mm; 26–29 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Titles in red in the script of the text. Large illuminated typically Anglo-Saxon initial at the beginning of each book and many smaller initials “very neatly drawn” (CLA 2: 191; cf. Alexander 1978: 59–60). Neums and melismata in several places (cf. Hartzell 2006: 256–257).
Script/Dating	Sec. ix <sup>2/4</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 69); “[A]n expert pointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule”, sec. viii <sup>ex</sup> (CLA 2: 191), sec. viii (Ker 1957: 261); “Phase II hybrid” minuscule (Brown 1982: 110); sec. ix <sup>1</sup> (Morrish 1988: 528).

## Contents

ff. 3–157	BEDA, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , imperfect (last leaf missing), ending in “[...] certaminis uel sub quo” (Bk. V, Ch. 24).
Origin	The origin of this and several other MSS belonging to the so-called “Tiberius group” is debated (cf. Brown 2001: 280–282). “Written in England, probably in the South as script and ornamentation suggest” (CLA 2: 191). Brown (1996: 171) places the MS in the “Canterbury School”; probably Canterbury, St Augustine’s? (Gneuss 2001: 69). Other sites have been implicated, though, e.g. “in or near Lichfield” (Kuhn 1957: 355; Kuhn 1943: 481, n. 2), strongly opposed in Sisam’s replies (Sisam 1956; Kuhn 1957: 370–374). Plummer (1896: xciii) and Ker (1957: 198) even see the possible origin of the MS in Durham, based on stemmatic / textual evidence.
Provenance	Medieval ownership unknown. MS formed part of Robert Cotton’s collection and was later damaged slightly in the Cotton fire of 1731. Incorporated in the British Museum in 1753.
Literature	Thompson & Warner (1884: 78–79); Gneuss (2001: 69 [no. 377]); Alexander (1978: 59–60 [no. 33]) Hartzell (2006: 256–257 [no. 141]); Wanley (1705: 225), under “Tiberius. C. 3. [sic]”; Cameron (1973: C.45.1); Morrish (1988: 528–529 [no. 4]); (Brown 1982: 110); CLA (2: 191); Laistner (1943: 97–98); BLOC (s.v. “Cotton MS Tiberius C II” <sup>19</sup> ); Ker (1957: 261 [no. 198]); CLA (2: 191); Planta (1802: 37); Toon (1985: 320); Vaciago (1993: 16 [no. 64]); Lapidge (1996: 441 [no. 25]).
Facsimiles	Thompson & Warner (1884: Pl. 19): f. 58 <sup>v</sup> ; Alexander (1978: Ills. 134, 165): f. 60 <sup>v</sup> and f. 5 <sup>v</sup> ; Brown (1993: Ill. 59): f. 60 <sup>v</sup> ; Brown (1996: Fig. 17; 2001: 88; 2007: 68): f. 5 <sup>v</sup> .

## B) Glosses

1) Glosses to BEDA, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ff. 3–157

Editions	Colgrave & Mynors (1969), siglum ‘C’.
Translations	Colgrave & Mynors (1969); Spitzbart (1997) [G.].
Literature	Plummer (1896).

19 URL: <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-001102237](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-001102237)>.

a) *Old English*

Description	Ca. 400 OE dry-point glosses; 4 brief glossaries containing 89 OE ink glosses; 1 OE ink gloss to a L. note; 2 OE interlinear ink glosses; 2 OE ink scribbles.
Editions	<p>Sweet (1885: 179–182), listing 89 OE ink glosses from glossaries compiled in originally blank spaces (ff. 5<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup> and 124<sup>v</sup>).</p> <p>Zupitza (1887), identifying the L. lemmata in the base text (all taken from Book 1, Chapters 10–22) and giving corrected readings for some L. lemmata and OE interpretamenta.</p> <p>Plummer (1896: xciii), listing about 100 spots where dry-point glosses are visible.</p> <p>Napier (1900: xxxiii) reporting: “It may be worth while mentioning here that the L. Beda MS. Tiberius C. ii contains a number of OE. scratched glosses”, but no samples given.</p> <p>Holthausen (1917a), re-listing the 89 OE known glossarial ink glosses by combining Sweet’s and Zupitza’s readings.</p> <p>Meritt (1933), editing 401 OE dry-point glosses and reporting about 30 more “too faint to be read”.</p> <p><i>CLA</i> (2: 192), reporting “Stylus writing passim.”</p> <p>Meritt (1945: 6–14 [no. 4]), repeating and augmenting Meritt (1933) to include 406 OE dry-point glosses.</p> <p>Ker (1957: 261), reporting 1 OE ink gloss to a L. note (no. 198b), 2 OE text glosses (no. 198c) and 2 OE ink scribbles (no. 198d).</p> <p>Toon (1985: 320), reporting an unspecified number of previously undocumented dry-point glosses without editing any of them.</p> <p>Toon (1991: 85), reaffirming “My own work has yielded many more previously unknown glosses”, but no readings are given.</p>
Script/Dating	The first three glossaries are in a “curiously twisted hand of the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century”, the fourth “in a rough cursive hand, quite different” (Sweet 1885: 179). “Ninth-century Anglo-Saxon glosses are added” ( <i>CLA</i> 2: 191). The glossaries probably of sec. ix, “[a]ll the remaining OE is probably of s. x” (Ker 1957: 261). “I think that none of the scratched glosses are later than the tenth century” (Meritt 1945: xi); Toon (1985: 320–321) states that the dry-point glosses are written in “two quite easily identified styles. One set of glosses was added mostly in the top and bottom margins in a large rough and roundish hand; another group are interlinear and written in a small, careful pointed hand.”



Language	“Kentish dialect” (Sweet 1885: 179; cf. Holthausen 1917a: 292); “traces” of Kentish dialect in the dry-point glosses (Meritt 1933: 307 and n. 9). In opposition: “a mixture of Mercian and Northumbrian, very definitely non-Kentish and non-West Saxon” (Kuhn 1943: 481, n. 2).
Literature	Toon (1991: 85–87); Biggam (1998: 196); Waite (2013).
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T24570.xml&gt; “Scrib 3.17 (Ker)”, representing Ker (1957: 261 [nos. 198b and 198d]).</p> <p>&lt;T26340.xml&gt; “OccGl 45.1.1 (Ker)”, representing Ker (1957: 261 [no. 198c]).</p> <p>&lt;T26350.xml&gt; “OccGl 45.1.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt’s (1945: 6–14) edition (dry-point glosses). Gloss no. 284 is accidentally included twice so that there is a mismatch in the consecutive numbering after that.</p> <p>&lt;T27990.xml&gt; “CollGl 12 (Holthausen)”, representing Holthausen’s (1917a) edition (glossarial ink glosses).</p>

### *b) Latin*

Description	An unknown number of L. dry-point and ink glosses reported.
Editions	Meritt (1933: 307, n. 7), mentioning “a few” L. dry-point glosses, but no samples given.
Script/Dating	No information available.

## **[18/K:210] London (UK), British Library Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, ff. 170–224**

### **A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (Thompson & Warner: 1884: 51) or parchment (Watson 1979: 109).
Dimensions	Ca. 190×127 mm.
Leaf numbering	55 leaves, numbered ff. 170–224.
Codicology	Bound up with a collection of theological pieces, including Ælfric’s Homilies, ff. 4–169 (Förster 1920; Ker 1957: 271–277 [no. 209]; Handley 1974).

Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 150–60×90–100 mm; 22 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Initials in ink of text with colour washes.
Script/Dating	Sec. ix <sup>1/4</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 71; Bischoff 2004: 109); Continental minuscule, sec. ix (Ker 1957: 210).
Contents of Part II	
f. 170 <sup>r</sup>	BOETHIUS, <i>De consolacione philosophiae</i> (selection).
ff. 170 <sup>v</sup> –218 <sup>r</sup>	ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, <i>Synonyma</i> .
ff. 218 <sup>v</sup> –222 <sup>r</sup>	Four Creeds: “Fides Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi”, “Fides Sancti Gregorii Pape urbis Romę”, “Fides Beati Gregorii Martyr [sic] et Episcopi Neo Cesarie”, “Expositio fidei catholice Sancti Hieronimi”.
ff. 223 <sup>v</sup> –224 <sup>r</sup>	Originally blank, later utilized for a part of a church service; a note allows for a precise terminus-ante-quem dating AD 912 (cf. Watson 1979: 109).
f. 224 <sup>v</sup>	BOETHIUS, <i>De consolacione philosophiae</i> (selection).
Origin	Continental; “nord de la France”, i.e. ‘northern France’ (Elfassi 2009: xxxix); “Nordfranzösisches Zentrum”, i.e. ‘northern French centre’ (Bischoff 2004: 109); “Italy?” (Watson 1979: 109); “N or NE France” (Gneuss 2001: 71).
Provenance	In Southern England before AD 912 (cf. Watson 1979: 109); belonged to Cotton in 1621 when it was already bound with ff. 1–169 (Ker 1957: 277).
Literature	Wanley (1705: 206); Thompson & Warner (1884: 51–52); Ker (1957: 277 [no. 210]); Watson (1979: 109 [no. 570]); Gneuss (2001: 71 [no. 392]); Elfassi (2009: xxxix); Dumville (1987: 172); Planta (1802: 476–477); Cameron (1973: C.78.1); <i>BLOC</i> (s.v. “Cotton MS Vespasian D XIV” <sup>20</sup> ); Vaciago (1993: 18 [no. 72]); Förster (1920).
Facsimiles	Thompson & Warner (1884: Pl. 49): f. 219b; Dumville (1987: Pl. vi); Wilcox (2000: 53–64 [no. 245]).

20 URL: <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-001103342](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-001103342)>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ISIDORUS HISPALIENSIS, *Synonyma*, ff. 170<sup>v</sup>–218<sup>r</sup>

Editions Elfassi (2009); *PL* (83: 825–868).

Translations Throop (2012).

Literature Di Sciacca (2008: 16–76).

#### a) *Old English*

Description 33 edited OE dry-point glosses; further scratches reported but not yet edited.

Editions Thompson & Warner (1884: 52) mention the dry-point glosses on f. 172<sup>v</sup> without editing them.

Ker (1957: 277), giving 4 OE dry-point glosses from ff. 172<sup>v</sup>–175<sup>r</sup> as a sample, implying that there are more and informing us “that they are hard to read”.

Meritt (1961: 449 [no. 17]), giving 16 more, adding up to 20 (including minor corrections over Ker), and reporting the existence of a further unreadable dozen.

Page (1981a: 111–113), making one minor correction over Meritt and giving another 13 dry-point glosses taken from the same leaves.

Toon (1985: 321), claiming that there are “about a hundred more to be read, but it won’t be easy”, however not editing any of them.

Script/Dating Sec. x<sup>l</sup> (Ker 1957: 277).

Literature Di Sciacca (2008: 69).

DOEC 2009 <T27060.xml> “OccGl 78.1 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1961: 449) and indirectly Ker (1957: 277).

Page’s (1981a) findings are not included.

#### b) *Latin*

Description No information available.

## [19/K:252] London (UK), British Library Royal 5. E. xi

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, vellum (Warner & Gilson 1921: I, 115).
Dimensions	Ca. 255×155 mm.
Leaf numbering	F. 1 + ff. 2–119 + f. 120; 4 unfoliated modern flyleaves at each end.
Codicology	Collation according to Gwara (2001a: 170): iv+i+I <sup>8</sup> (1, 6 cancelled)+II <sup>2</sup> (a bifolium)+III <sup>10</sup> (1, 4, 8 cancelled)+IV <sup>8</sup> –VII <sup>8</sup> +VIII <sup>10</sup> (3, 9 cancelled)+IX <sup>8</sup> –X <sup>8</sup> +XI <sup>10</sup> (2 cancelled)+XII <sup>10</sup> (3, 9 cancelled)+XIII <sup>10</sup> (7 cancelled)+XIV <sup>8</sup> (7 cancelled)+XV <sup>10</sup> (2, 8 cancelled)+XVI <sup>6</sup> (6 cancelled)+i (a singleton)+i+iv. Leather binding, sec. xix.
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 190×100 mm; 19 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Decorative interlaced initials on f. 7 <sup>v</sup> and f. 9 <sup>r</sup> ; a pen and ink drawing of S. Aldhelm, sec. xii/xiii (Warner & Gilson 1921: I, 115) on f. 2 <sup>v</sup> ; initials in red.
Script/Dating	Sec. x/xi (Gneuss 2001: 80); English Caroline minuscule, sec. x/xi (Ker 1957: 321); sec. x <sup>ex</sup> . (Gwara 2001a: 170).
Contents	
f. 1	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> , fragment, formerly forming part of the MS's main text together with f. 120, but they were “discarded in s. xi, when ff. 116–17 were substituted for them, and were then employed as binding leaves” (Ker 1957: 321); ff. 116–117 are exact copies.
f. 2	Medieval parchment flyleaf.
ff. 3–119	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> .
f. 120	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> , fragment, cf. f. 1.
Origin	Canterbury, Christ Church (Bishop 1963b: 421).
Provenance	Medieval ownership uncertain; included in the 1698 catalogue of the Library of St James's Palace. Presented to the British Museum by George II in 1757 as part of the Old Royal Library ( <i>BLCoIm</i> ).
Literature	Cameron (1973: C.31.7); Gneuss (2001: 80 [no. 458]); Vaciago (1993: 21 [no. 88]); Gwara (2001a: 170–177); Warner & Gilson (1921: I, 115); <i>BLOC</i> (s.v. “Royal MS 5 E XI” <sup>21</sup> ); Temple (1976: 46 [no. 19(ix)]); Goossens (1974: 19); Bishop (1963b: 421 [no. 20]).

21 URL: <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=--IAMS040-002106105](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=--IAMS040-002106105)>.

Facsimiles      Pulsiano (1996: 51–54 [no. 286]); Warner & Gilson (1921: IV, Pl. 42); *BLCoLM* (s. v. “Royal 5 E XI”<sup>22</sup>): ff. 2<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>; Brooks (1984: 271 [Pl. 13]): f. 9<sup>r</sup>; Temple (1976: Ills. 74–75): f. 9<sup>r</sup>, f. 7<sup>v</sup> (details).

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*, ff. 3–119

Editions          Gwara (2001b) as *siglum* “R4”.  
 Translations      Lapidge & Herren (1979: 59–132).  
 Literature          Lapidge & Herren (1979: 51–58).

#### a) *Old English*

Description      More than 700 OE dry-point glosses and 440 OE ink glosses.

Editions          Napier (1900: xxxiii, 164–171 [no. 8] and 172 [no. 8b]), giving 440 ink glosses (427+13, confusing numbering) and mentioning 2 dry-point glosses in n. 45 and n. 77 on p. 165 and another 24 dry-point glosses in n. 2b on p. xxxiii.

Meritt (1945: 1–6 [no. 2]), editing 244 dry-point glosses, explicitly not including Napier’s glosses.

Robinson (1965: 304–305 [no. 3]), editing 1 dry-point gloss in running text and 9 dry-point glosses in a footnote (n. 16).

Toon (1985: 324–325), presenting a rather confusing semi-diplomatic transcription of f. 9<sup>v</sup>, combining 4 of Meritt’s readings with 9 previously unedited dry-point glosses and gloss fragments.

Gwara (1993), (apparently not aware of Toon 1985) editing the dry-point and ink glosses of all extant MSS of ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*, including 188 previously unedited OE dry-point glosses from this MS (1993: 881–905).

Gwara (1996b: 111–145), editing 438 OE dry-point glosses, repeating and revising Gwara (1993: 881–905), explicitly not including Napier’s (1900: xxxiii), Meritt’s (1945) and Robinson’s (1965), but unwittingly repeating two glosses (nos. 104 and 169) that Napier (1900: 165) mentioned only in some well-hidden footnotes. Gwara (1996b: 145) also gives a list of 18 dry-point traces that he could not decipher and adds a handful of corrections over Meritt’s (1945) edition.

22 URL: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8824>>.

McGowan (1998: 166), apparently unaware of Gwara's (1993; 1996b) editions, gives mostly differing readings for 7 glosses previously edited; McGowan's (1998) glosses correspond to Gwara's (1996b) nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15 and 16, and Gwara's (1993) nos. 19, 28, 30, 36, 38, 75 and 77.

Gwara (2001b), editing both the L. and OE ink and dry-point glosses from all extant MSS of ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate* in his critical edition of that text.

Script/Dating	Gwara (1996b: 103–104) distinguishes 6 main glossing hands, several of them writing OE glosses. Sec. xi <sup>in</sup> , xi <sup>med</sup> . (Ker 1957: 321).
Literature	Ker (1957: 321 [no. 252]); Gwara (2001a: 171–173, 225–229); von Rūden (1978: 59); Schabram (1965: 65); Toon (1985: 323–326).
DOEC 2009	<T25 950.xml> “AldV 7.1 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 164–171). <T25 960.xml> “AldV 7.2 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 172). <T25 970.xml> “AldV 7.3 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 1–6). <T25 980.xml> “AldV 7.4 (Robinson)”, representing Robinson (1965: 304–305).  Napier's (1900: xxxiii) dry-point glosses relegated to the footnotes as well as Gwara's (1996) and McGowan's (1998) editions are not included.

### *b) Latin*

Description	Intermittent L. glossing; some of the glosses in dry-point.
Editions	Gwara (1993); Gwara (1996b: 104, n. 21); Gwara (2001b).
Script/Dating	Some glosses contemporary with the MS, i. e. sec. x/xi, others sec. xi <sup>in</sup> . and xi <sup>med</sup> . (cf. Gwara 1996b: 103–104).
Literature	None known.

## **[20/K:254] London (UK), British Library Royal 6. A. vi**

### **A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (Warner & Gilson 1921: I, 129).
Dimensions	Ca. 285×160 mm.

Leaf numbering	Ff. [i]–[iii] + 1–109 + [iv]–[vi] (3 unfoliated paper flyleaves at each end).
Codicology	White leather binding with gold-tooling, sec. xvii; marbled endpapers; about collation cf. Gwara (1993: 134).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 210×100 mm; 21 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	“Large initial in black with zoomorphic and interlace decoration in red and black on f. 5; large initials in green (ff. 13, 36, 78) or red (f. 13 <sup>v</sup> ) with incipits in red or green capitals. Numerous smaller initials in red or green. Chapter numbers in red” ( <i>BLCoIM</i> <sup>148</sup> ).
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>ex</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 81); Anglo-Caroline minuscule, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> (Gwara 1993: 133); sec. xi <sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 322).
Contents	
ff. 1–4	Flyleaves, taken from three 13 <sup>th</sup> -c. MSS (cf. Warner & Gilson 1921: I, 129).
ff. 5 <sup>r</sup> –9 <sup>r</sup>	ALDHELM: <i>Epistola ad Heahfridum</i> .
ff. 9 <sup>v</sup> –109 <sup>r</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> .
· f. 107	A lost leaf that was replaced in a 16 <sup>th</sup> -c. hand.
· f. 109 <sup>v</sup>	Lines on the death of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, added by a Christ Church, Canterbury scribe, sec. xii <sup>ex</sup> ( <i>BLCoIM</i> <sup>148</sup> ).
Origin	Canterbury, Christ Church (Bishop 1963b: 421).
Provenance	Medieval ownership uncertain; possibly remained in Canterbury, Christ Church until it became part of the Old Royal Library and was ultimately given to the British Museum by George II in 1757 ( <i>BLCoIM</i> <sup>148</sup> ).
Literature	Warner & Gilson (1921: I, 129); Ker (1957: 322 [no. 254]); Cameron (1973: C.31.9); Gneuss (2001: 81 [no. 464]); Vaciago (1993: 22 [no. 90]); Bishop (1963b: 421 [no. 12]); Temple (1976: 56, 57–58 [no. 30 (xi)]); <i>BLOC</i> (s. v. “Royal MS 6 A VI” <sup>23</sup> ); <i>BLCoIM</i> (s. v. “Royal MS 6 A VI” <sup>24</sup> ); Wanley (1705: 182); Goossens (1974: 18).
Facsimiles	Warner & Gilson (1921: IV, Pl. 45b): f. 25 <sup>v</sup> ; Temple (1976: Ill. 117): f. 5 <sup>r</sup> ; <i>BLCoIM</i> (s. v. “Royal MS 6 A VI” <sup>148</sup> ): ff. 5 <sup>r</sup> , 78 <sup>r</sup> .

23 URL: <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-002106140](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=-IAMS040-002106140)>.

24 URL: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6041>>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to **ALDHELM, *Epistola ad Heahfridum*, ff. 5<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>**

Editions	Gwara (1996a); Ehwald (1919: 486–494) as siglum “R”; <i>PL</i> (89: 92D–95B), which is a reprint of Giles (1844: 91–95), whose edition is not reliable (cf. Lapidge & Herren 1979: 22), but is referred to by Napier (1900).
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 160–164).
Literature	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 143–146); Howlett (1994).

#### a) *Old English*

Description	2 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 180 [no. 13]), editing 2 OE ink glosses, co-occurring in Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 146 (cf. Ker 1957: 381–383 [no. 320]) and London, British Library Cotton Domitian A. ix, ff. 3 <sup>r</sup> –7 <sup>v</sup> (cf. Ker 1957: 188 [no. 149]).
Script/Dating	Anglo-Caroline minuscule, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> , possibly later by a generation (Gwara 1993: 137); sec. xi <sup>1</sup> Ker (1957: 322).
Literature	Gwara (1996a: 90–92).
DOEC 2009	<T26 000.xml> “AldV 9 (Nap)”, nos. 398–399 representing Napier (1900: 180 [no. 13]).

#### b) *Latin*

Description	Extensive glossing, as is visible on f. 5 <sup>r</sup> .
Editions	None known.

### 2) **ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*, ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–109<sup>r</sup>**

Editions	Gwara (2001b) as siglum “R3”; Ehwald (1919: 209–323) as siglum “R <sup>3</sup> ”; <i>PL</i> (89: 103–162), which is a reprint of Giles (1844: 1–82), whose edition is not reliable (cf. Lapidge & Herren 1979: 22), but is referred to by Napier (1900).
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 59–132).
Literature	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 51–58).



*a) Old English*

Description	1 OE dry-point gloss and 399 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 156–163 [no. 7]), editing 396 OE ink glosses and 1 OE dry-point gloss (no. 66b), which apparently was only meant to be a sample (cf. Napier 1900: xv and xxxiii).  Gwara (1993: 870; 1994a: 268–269 [no. 4]), editing another 3 OE ink glosses (one of them consisting of a mere Tironian <i>nota</i> ).  Gwara (2001b), editing both the L. and OE ink and dry-point glosses from all extant MSS of ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> in his critical edition of that text.
Script/Dating	Anglo-Caroline minuscule, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> , possibly later by a generation (Gwara 1993: 137).
Literature	Ker (1957: 322) and Gwara (1993: 133–139) on gloss hands.
DOEC 2009	<T26 000.xml> “AldV 9 (Nap)”, nos. 1–397 representing Napier (1900: 156–163 [no. 7]). The numbering does not follow the edition after no. 66.  Gwara (1993; 1994a) are not included.

*b) Latin*

Description	L. glosses throughout.
Editions	Gwara (1993); Gwara (2001b).
Script/Dating	Anglo-Caroline minuscule, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> , possibly later by a generation (Gwara 1993: 137).

**[21/K:266] London (UK), British Library Royal 13. A. xv****A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (Warner & Gilson 1921: II, 84).
Dimensions	Ca. 243×168 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. 1–45; one foliated paper flyleaf at each end.

Codicology	Royal Library binding of black leather with the arms of George II and a date of 1757; gilt edges ( <i>BLOC</i> ). Nail rust marks of the claps on the last three pages, suggesting that the MS only ever contained its one text; for collation see Colgrave (1956: 29).
Ornamentation	Initials in red.
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 185×100–110 mm; 20 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>med</sup> . (Gneuss 2001: 83). “Written in two different hands, both of the late tenth century, one of which is English minuscules and the other Caroline minuscules” (Colgrave 1956: 29). Ker (1957: 266) sees the parts in Anglo-Saxon minuscule (ff. 1–8, 36–38) as sec. x <sup>1</sup> ; for the parts in Caroline minuscule he suggests sec. x <sup>2</sup> .
Contents	
f. 1–45	FELIX OF CROWLAND, <i>Vita Sancti Guthlaci</i> , without prologue or list of chapters.
f. 45 <sup>v</sup>	The beginning of the Lord’s prayer with neumatic notation, sec. xi/xii (Hartzell 2006: 334).
Origin	Origin unknown; Gameson (1996: 243) suggests that it originated in a monastery associated with St Oswald, bishop of Worcester; in Gameson’s view perhaps Ramsey rather than Worcester, as suggested by Bishop (1971: no. 18).
Provenance	The erased name “Lumley” is still visible on f. 1 <sup>r</sup> , so the MS may well have been part of John Lumley’s (1533–1609) voluminous library. His library was bought by James I and was later presented to the British Museum by George II in 1757 as part of the Old Royal Library (cf. Colgrave 1956: 29–30; <i>BLOC</i> ).
Literature	Colgrave (1956: 28–30); Ker (1957: 334 [no. 266]); Cameron (1973: C.66.4); Vaciago (1993: 21 [no. 87]); Gneuss (2001: 83 [no. 484]); Warner & Gilson (1921: II, 84); <i>BLOC</i> (s.v. “Royal MS 13 A XV” <sup>25</sup> ); <i>BLCoIM</i> (s.v. “Royal MS 13 A XV” <sup>26</sup> ); Hartzell (2006: 334 [no. 187]); Dumville (1993: 53–54).
Facsimiles	Doane (2010: 103–106 [no. 19]); Warner & Gilson (1921: IV, Pl. 77): ff. 6 <sup>v</sup> , 24 <sup>r</sup> , 38 <sup>r</sup> .

25 URL: <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=IAMS040-002106827](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?doc=IAMS040-002106827)>.

26 URL: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7535>>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to FELIX OF CROWLAND, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*

Editions	Colgrave (1956), this MS as sigla “A” and “A <sub>2</sub> ”; Birch (1881).
Translations	Colgrave (1956).
Literature	Roberts (1970).

#### a) *Old English*

Description	35 OE dry-point glosses and 15 OE ink glosses.
Editions	<p>Birch (1881), including some of the OE ink glosses in his footnotes.</p> <p>Napier (1900: 202 [no. 36]), editing 14 OE ink glosses and 5 dry-point glosses, also mentioning that there are more dry-point glosses in that MS.</p> <p>Meritt (1945: 23 [no. 16]), editing an additional 19 dry-point glosses.</p> <p>Ker (1957: 334 [no. 266]), editing 1 additional ink gloss. Ker’s account of Napier’s (1900) edition omits Napier’s dry-point glosses: “Nineteen glosses in ink pr. Napier 1900, no. 36”.</p> <p>Toon (1985: 321), reporting that he “continue[s] to make discoveries”, however not putting any of his findings in writing.</p> <p>McGowan (1998: 167–168), editing an additional 11 dry-point glosses.</p>
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>1</sup> (Ker 1957: 334).
Literature	Toon (1985: 323–327).
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T26 830.xml&gt; “GuthGl 4.1 (Nap-Ker)”, nos. 1–19 representing Napier (1900: 202 [no. 36]) and no. 20 representing Ker (1957: 334 [no. 266]).</p> <p>&lt;T26 840.xml&gt; “GuthGl 4.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 23 [no. 16]).</p> <p>McGowan (1998) is not included.</p>

#### b) *Latin*

Description	L. ink glosses and emendations, interlineations and marks of omission throughout. The two forms of the text (with and without the substantial changes) are distinguished as “A” and “A <sub>2</sub> ” in Colgrave’s (1956) edition.
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Editions	Colgrave (1956).
Script/Dating	Emendations are sec. xi <sup>ex</sup> . (Colgrave 1956: 30).
Literature	None known.

**[22/K:268] London (UK), British Library Royal 15. B. xix, ff. 1–36**

**A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (Warner & Gilson 1921: II, 161).
Dimensions	Ca. 255×165 mm.
Leaf numbering	6 unfoliated front flyleaves + ff. 1–36 (part 1) + ff. 37–199 (part 2) + ff. 200–205 (part 3) + 4 unfoliated back flyleaves.
Codicology	<p>Part 1 of this MS was bound together with two originally unrelated MS parts some time after 1666 (cf. Ker 1957: 335).</p> <p>Part 2: ff. 37–199, containing BEDA, <i>De temporum ratione</i> and a collection of short verse and prose texts including <i>Liber monstorum</i> (St Remi, Reims, Northern France, sec. ix<sup>ex</sup>).</p> <p>Part 3: ff. 200–205, SYMPHOSIUS, <i>Enigmata</i> and BONIFACE, <i>Enigmata</i> (St Mary, Salisbury, sec. xi).</p>
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 175–180×85–110 mm.
Ornamentation	“Large initial in red with penwork decoration in red, black and green on f. 1. Initials in black with penwork decoration in zoomorphic, foliate and interlace patterns, Wormald type II (ff. 24 <sup>v</sup> , 29 <sup>v</sup> ). Initial with penwork decoration in interlace pattern (f. 32 <sup>v</sup> ). Initial in black, green and red with penwork decoration (f. 7 <sup>v</sup> ). Initial in green (f. 1). Rubrics and capitals at the beginning of each line in red” ( <i>BLC oIM</i> s. v. “Royal 15 B XIX” <sup>27</sup> ).
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>2</sup> or x <sup>ex</sup> . (Gneuss 2001: 84); English Caroline minuscule, sec. x <sup>2</sup> (Ker 1957: 334).
Contents	
ff. 1–36	SEDULIUS, <i>Carmen paschale</i> .
Origin	Christ Church, Canterbury (Bishop 1963b: 421).

27 URL: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7499>>.

Provenance	Medieval ownership unknown, perhaps remained in Canterbury, Christ Church; the MS was bound together with parts 2 and 3 after 1666, when it was already part of the Old Royal collection (Royal press-mark ‘no. 808’).
Literature	Warner & Gilson (1921: II, 159–162); Vaciago (1993: 23 [no. 97]); Bishop (1963b: 421 [no. 14]); <i>BLCoIM</i> (s. v. “Royal 15 B XIX” <sup>151</sup> ); MS apparently not in <i>BLOC</i> ; Temple (1976: 46 [no. 19(iii)]); Gneuss (2001: 84 [no. 491]).
Facsimiles	Warner & Gilson (1921: IV, Pl. 90a): f. 29 <sup>v</sup> ; <i>BLCoIM</i> (s. v. “Royal 15 B XIX” <sup>151</sup> ): ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> , 198 <sup>v</sup> ; Temple (1976: Ill. 64): f. 1 <sup>r</sup> (detail).

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to SEDULIUS, *Carmen paschale*

Editions	Huemer (2007).
Translations	McBrine (forthcoming).
Literature	Springer (1988); Mazzega (1996); Green (2006).

#### a) Old English

Description	An unknown number of dry-point glosses, at least one of which is OE; 12 OE ink glosses.
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The presence of dry-point glosses in this particular MS is not reported in the literature, however, in less-than-ideal lighting conditions I was able to read OE *pidan* interlinearly above L. *patentem* on f. 2<sup>v</sup>, l. 22. In more than 25 spots on ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–29<sup>v</sup>, other dry-point letter forms were discernible to me, but I could not read them with any degree of certainty.<sup>28</sup>

28 The glosses are next to invisible in ambient reading room lighting, as indirectly witnessed by both Meritt and Page who apparently did not notice them. I could see dry-point letters near the following words and phrases of the L. text: f. 2<sup>v</sup>, l. 17 *parebunt*; f. 2<sup>v</sup>, l. 21 *audaci*; f. 2<sup>v</sup>, l. 22 *siluamque patentem*; f. 4<sup>r</sup>, l. 11 *praemisso*; f. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 14 *saxo latices*; f. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 23 *ponit*; f. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 15 *comperit*; f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 13 *in corpore*; f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 14 *aetatis contigit*; f. 10<sup>r</sup>, l. 15 *hoc spatium de carne*; f. 15<sup>v</sup>, l. 17 *modos*; f. 15<sup>v</sup>, l. 25 *obstipuer animis*; f. 16<sup>r</sup>, l. 16 *ite ait et tristes*; f. 16<sup>r</sup>, l. 17 *quia necdum*; f. 16<sup>r</sup>, l. 18 *auxerat*; f. 16<sup>r</sup>, l. 7 *torpentem*; f. 18<sup>r</sup>, l. 2 *septem panibus*; f. 19<sup>r</sup>, l. 5 *potentior*; f. 19<sup>r</sup>, l. 14 *uergens*; f. 19<sup>r</sup>, l. 17 *inter residere*; f. 19<sup>r</sup>, l. 18 *tumidum*; f. 20<sup>v</sup>, l. 1 *nexuque*; f. 21<sup>r</sup>, l. 11 *arua legens*; f. 22<sup>r</sup>, l. 6 *spatium*; f. 27<sup>r</sup>, l. 13 *tamquam*; f. 29<sup>r</sup>, l. 10 *infecit luctibus*. The glosses are merely indented (Nievergelt’s category “B.2”) and the lighting conditions in the reading room of the British Library prevented me from deciphering more during the three days that I spent working on the MS in July 2010. The cold-light lamp kindly provided to me by the librarian was of no use, unfortunately, because the ambient diffuse light was interfering too much.

Editions	Meritt (1945: 38–39 [no. 29]), editing 12 (not 10 as reported in Ker 1957: 268) OE ink glosses from ff. 3 <sup>r</sup> , 5 <sup>r</sup> , 6 <sup>r</sup> , 7 <sup>v</sup> , 8 <sup>r</sup> , 16 <sup>v</sup> , 25 <sup>r</sup> , 28 <sup>r</sup> and 30 <sup>r</sup> .  <i>BLCoIM</i> (s.v. “Royal 15 B XIX” <sup>151</sup> ), cryptically reporting further unpublished (?) OE glosses, presumably in ink: “The ‘Carmen Paschale’ has glosses in Latin and a few in Anglo-Saxon (e. g. ff. 5, 25, 28). They are not noted in N.R. Ker [(1957)] [...] or Lendinara [(1990)].” No mention is made of Meritt’s (1945) edition and it is therefore not evident whether the anonymous librarian here really refers to previously undocumented glosses.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>1</sup> (?) (Ker 1957: 335).
Literature	Page (1982: 159–160).
DOEC 2009	<T27630.xml> “SedGl 4 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 38–39 [no. 29]).

### b) *Latin*

Description	Little L. glossing.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	No information available.
Literature	Page (1982: 159–160).

## [23/K:–] London (UK), Lambeth Palace Library MS 200, ff. 66–113

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, vellum (James 1932: 315).
Dimensions	Ca. 270×195 mm.
Leaf numbering	Three unrelated vols. bound together: fos. 2+64 (vol. I), 1+46 (vol. II), 3+113 (vol. III). The first part (ff. 1–65) is a treatise by Roger Bacon, followed by (partial) copies of three letters. The second part (ff. 66–113) is a late 10 <sup>th</sup> -c. copy of ALDHELM’s <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> . The third part (ff. 114–164) is “a hot-potch of Biblical material dated s. xiii-xiv” (Gwara 2001a: 108).
Codicology	Calf binding, rebacked (James 1932: 315); for collation see James (1932: 315).

Layout	Single column; 32 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>2</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 87); an “accomplished Caroline Minuscule of the late tenth century with consistent hybrid letterforms” (Gwara 2001a: 107).
Contents of Vol. II	
f. 66 <sup>r</sup>	Blank.
f. 66 <sup>v</sup>	Waltham Abbey pressmark, sec. xiv, and some scribbled music.
f. 67 <sup>r</sup>	Notes on content and some scribbles, sec. xiv.
ff. 67 <sup>v</sup> –68 <sup>r</sup>	Blank.
ff. 68 <sup>v</sup> –111 <sup>r</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> .
ff. 111 <sup>v</sup> –113 <sup>r</sup>	Blank, formerly stuck to the binding.
Origin	Canterbury, St Augustine’s (Gwara 2001a: 107).
Provenance	Pressmark of Waltham Abbey on f. 66 <sup>v</sup> , sec. xiv (Gwara 2001a: 106).
Literature	Gwara (1993: 69–72); Gwara (2001a: 106–108); James (1932: 315–318); Palmer & Brown (2010: 32 ff. [no. 2]); “Lambeth Palace Library: Database of Manuscripts and Archives” (online resource) <sup>29</sup> ; Gneuss (2001: 87 [no. 509]). This MS is not listed in Ker (1957, 1976), Blockley (1982, 1994) or Vaciago (1993), as its gloss was only published in 2001.
Facsimiles	Palmer & Brown (2010: 32 ff. [no. 2]): ff. 68 <sup>v</sup> –69 <sup>r</sup> , 94 <sup>v</sup> and 97 <sup>v</sup> .

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*

Editions	Gwara (2001b) as siglum “L”.
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 59–132).
Literature	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 51–58).

29 URL: <<http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=Calm-View.Catalog&id=MSS%2f200>>.

a) *Old English*

Description	1 OE dry-point gloss.
Editions	Gwara (2001a: 107; 2001b: 352), reporting 1 dry-point gloss OE <i>wonoræ</i> ‘?’ glossing L. <i>philargiria</i> ‘avarice’. Gwara must have discovered the dry-point gloss between ca. 1997 and 1999: Gwara (1997c: 597) still records “only 89 holograph glosses, none of which is Old English” without any mention of the dry-point gloss, whereas Gwara (1999: 821) mentions 1 OE gloss, without giving any details.
Script/Dating	No information available.
Literature	No information available.
DOEC 2009	The dry-point gloss mentioned by Gwara (2001a: 107) is not included.

b) *Latin*

Description	89 L. ink glosses.
Editions	Gwara (1993), Gwara (2001b).
Script/Dating	Written in the same hand as the base text, i. e. late 10 <sup>th</sup> c.; the L. glosses “were probably added when the manuscript was copied. They correspond [...] to the earliest strata of glosses in [London, British Library] Royal 7 D. xxiv [K:259] and may very well have been copied from an Aldhelm manuscript that pre-dates the Royal book” (Gwara 2001a: 107).
Literature	Gwara (1997c: 597–601).

## [24/K:12] New Haven (US), Yale University Beinecke Library MS 401 and Fragments

A) **Manuscript**

Nickname	“Yale Fragment”.
Type	Fragments, vellum (Collins 1976: 29 and 32).
Dimensions	Ca. 193–202×141–148 mm.
Leaf numbering	MS 401: ff. i (paper) + 26 + i (paper). MS 401A: ff. 2 (bifolium).



Codicology     The fragments formerly formed part of a MS whose contents are scattered in various libraries now:

- New Haven (CT, USA), Yale University, Beinecke Library 401 (26 leaves), formerly Cheltenham, Phillipps Collection MS 8071.
- New Haven (CT, USA), Yale University, Beinecke Library 401A (2 leaves), formerly Cheltenham, Phillipps Collection MS 20 688, ff. 9–10.
- Cambridge (UK), University Library Add. 3330 (2 leaves).
- London (UK), British Library Additional 71 687 (2 leaves).
- London (UK), British Library Additional 50 483K (1 leaf).
- Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library Lat. th. d. 24, ff. 1–2 (2 leaves).
- Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library Arch. A. f. 131 (part of 2 leaves).
- Philadelphia (PA, USA), Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection ET 121 (1 leaf).
- A bifolium (2 leaves), present repository unknown,<sup>30</sup> formerly Oslo (N) and London (UK), Collection of Martin Schøyen MS 197, formerly Malibu (CA, USA), J. Paul Getty Mus. MS Ludwig XI 5, formerly Aachen (D), Collection of Peter Ludwig MS XI 5, formerly Slindon (UK), Collection of W. Merton MS 41.

An analysis of the collation and a speculative reconstruction of the original assembly of the various *membra disiecta* can be found in Gwara (1993: 49–52; 2001a: 87–90). So far, dry-point glosses have only been reported for New Haven, Beinecke Library 401, ff. 1–18, and Cambridge, UL Add. 3330, f. 1<sup>v</sup>, together constituting what is left of the first six quires in Gwara’s reconstruction. Rusche’s (1994: 195, n. 4) statement – “I have not examined the leaves in the Schøyen collection, but their position in the MS [i.e. in the 11<sup>th</sup> quire of Gwara’s reconstruction] leads me to believe that they contain no dry-point glosses” – may imply that he scrutinized all other fragments except that particular bifolium in vain.

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30 According to Sotheby’s web page <<http://www.sothebys.com/>>, accessed on 17 August 2016, this bifolium was sold to an unnamed buyer for GBP 337,250 at the Sotheby’s sale “The History of Script: Sixty Important Manuscript Leaves from the Schøyen Collection” (Lot 26) in London on 10 July 2012. I tried to contact Sotheby’s to inquire about the present whereabouts of the bifolium, but I did not receive a reply. Schøyen had bought it for GBP 55,000 on 6 December, 1988 at an earlier Sotheby’s sale. Blockley (1994: 84–85) erroneously lists this item as an addendum, labelled “[428.]”, but it should be considered part of the “Yale Fragment” [24/K:12] and, hence, it should not be given a Ker number of its own.

Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 170×115 mm; 19–23 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	A few decorated initials and other capitals touched with silver.
Script/Dating	Sec. “ix <sup>in</sup> . (or viii <sup>ex</sup> ?)” (Gneuss 2001: 132); “hybrid minuscule [...] produced in the first half of the ninth century” (Morrish 1988: 527); Gwara (1993: 53, n. 25): “an even earlier date s. viii <sup>ex</sup> . would not be unreasonable.”
Contents	All the various <i>membra disiecta</i> contain fragments of ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> ; the contents of Beinecke MS 401 are described in detail in Shailor (1987: 281–282).
Origin	Canterbury or Worcester according to Lowe (1927: 191) and von Euw (1982: 66).
Provenance	A connection to Canterbury is inferred from the presence of OE glosses with Kentish characteristics, but medieval ownership is unknown. The various fragments turn up in different bookshops and auctions in the 19 <sup>th</sup> c. Thomas Phillipps acquired fol. 22 in 1827, the remainder of MS 401 in 1836 and MS 401A in 1859 (Collins 1976: 30–31 and 33–35). On 25 November 1969 H. P. Kraus purchased them from <i>Sotheby’s</i> (lot 442) for Yale University.
Literature	Shailor (1987: 280–283 [MS 401], 283–284 [MS 401A]); Gwara (1993: 46–55); Gwara (2001a: 87–94, 229–232); Ker (1957: 10–11 [no. 12]); Ker (1976: 122 [no. 12]); Blockley (1994: 79 [no. 12]); Morrish (1988: 527 [no. 2]); Collins (1976: 29–31 [no. 1a]); Cameron (1973: C.31.2); Gneuss (2001: 312 [no. 857]); Vaciago (1993: 25 [no. 106]); von Euw (1982: 66–69 [no. XI 5]); Lowe (1927: 191–192 [no. 89]); Goossens (1974: 19).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimiles of New Haven (CT, USA), Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 401 <sup>31</sup> and 401A <sup>32</sup> are publicly available.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*

Editions	Gwara (2001b) as <i>siglum</i> “A”.
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 59–132).
Literature	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 51–58).

31 URL: <<http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3527253>>.

32 URL: <<http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3527258>>.

a) *Old English*

- Description** Ca. 160 OE dry-point glosses and 228 OE ink glosses.
- Editions** Napier (1900: xxxiii, n. 2c), giving 3 dry-point glosses from Phillipps MS 8071 (= Beinecke MS 401) as a sample.
- Napier (1900: 175–178 [no. 11]), giving 189 ink glosses from Phillipps MS 8071 (= Beinecke MS 401).
- Napier (1900: 179 [no. 12]), giving 14 ink glosses from Cambridge, UL MS Add. 33330.
- Meritt (1952), editing 17 ink glosses from Slindon, Collection of W. Merton MS 41 (= later Oslo / London, Collection of Martin Schøyen MS 197).
- Meritt (1961: 441 [no. 1]), editing 26 dry-point glosses from Phillipps MS 8071 (= Beinecke MS 401), including those mentioned by Napier, also mentioning a dry-point entry OE *geselliend* in the left margin of f. 5<sup>v</sup> for which he could not find a certain lemma (cf. n. 20).
- Collins (1976: 32–33), editing 7 ink glosses from Philadelphia (PA), Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection ET 121.
- Gwara (1993: 870; 1994a: 269 [no. 6]), editing 1 partially erased ink gloss OE *cl<æ>fr<e>* glossing L. *caltarum* on l. 1 of f. 2<sup>v</sup> in Beinecke MS 401.
- Rusche (1994), editing 160 dry-point glosses (including a number of partial readings and undecipherable entries) to 153 lemmata, including all of Napier's (1900) and Meritt's (1961) dry-point findings (with emendations); 6 of them are taken from Cambridge, University Library MS Add. 3330, f. 1<sup>v</sup>.<sup>33</sup>
- Gwara (2001b), editing both the L. and OE ink and dry-point glosses from all extant MSS of ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate* in his critical edition of that text.

33 Confusingly, Rusche (1994: 195, n. 4) states: "All but five [sic] of the dry-point glosses appear in Beinecke 401; the other five [sic] are in Cambridge, UL, Add. 3330", but the edition in his appendix features 6 lemmata with 3 decipherable and 3 undecipherable interpretamenta.

Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>2</sup> (Ker 1957: 10). Rusche (1994: 197) distinguishes 6 hands responsible for the dry-point glosses: “Hand A” writing a Square minuscule script with a thin, blunt stylus, sec. x <sup>med</sup> , “Hand B” writing a neat, well-formed Style II Anglo-Caroline minuscule with some Insular letter forms, sec. x <sup>2</sup> “Hand C” using “a thin, flat instrument which scrapes the parchment without making an impression”, “Hand D” using “a knife which cuts sharply into the parchment”, “Hand E” and “Hand F” probably using a similar writing implement as “Hand A” and “Hand B”; “Hands C–F” probably sec. x <sup>2</sup> . Gwara (2001a: 92) distinguishes two main hands responsible for the ink glosses: “Hand 1” writing an Anglo-Caroline script for the L. glosses and a hybrid script containing both Insular and Caroline features for the OE glosses, sec. xi <sup>1</sup> , and “Hand 2” writing a messy Insular hand generally unaffected by Caroline influences.
Language	“Strongly marked Kentish characteristics” (Napier 1900: xxxii), confirmed by Meritt (1952: 553) and Rusche (1994: 198), but no detailed analyses are given.
Literature	Gwara (2001a: 89–94).
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T25 840.xml&gt; “AldV 2.1 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 179).</p> <p>&lt;T25 850.xml&gt; “AldV 2.3.1 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 175–178).</p> <p>&lt;T25 860.xml&gt; “AldV 2.3.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1961: 441), omitting the uncertain entry OE <i>geselliend</i>.</p> <p>&lt;T25 870.xml&gt; “AldV 2.6 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1952).</p> <p>&lt;T25 880.xml&gt; “AldV 2.7 (Collins)”, representing Collins (1976: 32–33).</p> <p>Rusche’s (1994) and Gwara’s editions (1993; 1994) are not included.</p>

## b) *Latin*

Description	There is comparatively little L. glossing, for instance L. <i>et illi</i> , glossed by L. <i>s. laborant</i> on line 1 of f. 2 <sup>r</sup> (MS 401, cf. Gwara 2001a: 44–45).
Edition	Gwara (2001b).

## [25/K:293] Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library Auctarium D. 5. 3

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, parchment (sheep, according to Bischoff 2004: 357).
Dimensions	Ca. 130×98 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. i–ii + ff. 105.
Codicology	No detailed descriptions available.
Layout	Single column; written area: 100×64 mm; 21 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	“on foll. 44, 68 are two elaborate but not fine coloured capitals in blue, yellow, green and red, with interlaced bands and animal figures” (S. C. 5: 336).
Script/Dating	Sec. ix/x (Gneuss 2001: 90); Written in “continental caroline minuscule, s. ix/x” (Ker 1957: 353). S. C. (5: 336) and Meritt (1945: xvi) ascribe the MS to sec. xi.
Contents	BIBLE, <i>Gospels</i> (incomplete), based on S. C. (5: 336), preserved as follows:
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –42 <sup>v</sup>	BIBLE, <i>Gospel of Matthew</i> , from Mt 1:13 to end.
ff. 43 <sup>r</sup> –67 <sup>r</sup>	BIBLE, <i>Gospel of Mark</i> .
ff. 67 <sup>v</sup> –105 <sup>v</sup>	BIBLE, <i>Gospel of Luke</i> , beginning to Lk 23:39.  A fragment of the original first leaf, containing the <i>Gospel of Matthew</i> (Mt 1:1–13), is preserved.
Origin	“Wahrscheinlich Bretagne”, i.e. ‘probably Brittany’ (Bischoff 2004: 357); Ker (1957: 353): continental; “England (?)” (S. C. 5: 336), but printed with a note by Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, Bodley’s Librarian (1882–1912) reading “[I suggest that the MS. was executed in the zone of N. France. E. W.B.N.]” ( <i>ibid.</i> , square brackets are authorial).
Provenance	Given to the Bodleian Library by Nathaniel Crynes (1686–1745), Fellow of St John’s College, in 1736.
Literature	S. C. (5: 336 [no. 27 688]); Bischoff (2004: 357 [no. 3770]); Ker (1957: 353 [no. 293]); Gneuss (2001: 90 [no. 532]); Vaciago (1993: 26 [no. 111]); Cameron (1973: C51.4); Deuffic (1985: 307 [no. 66]).
Facsimiles	Doane (2002: 64–69 [no. 342]).

## B) Glosses to BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospels*

Editions	Weber et al. (2007).
Translations	Bagster (1872).
Literature	Turner (1931); Lampe (1969); Gameson (1994); Marsden (1995).

### 1) BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospel of Matthew*, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–42<sup>v</sup>

#### a) *Old English*

Description	23 OE dry-point glosses and 16 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Meritt (1945: 53 [no. 60]).
Literature	Lendinara (1999a: 60).
Script/Dating	“The glosses are in a rather roughly formed square Anglo-Saxon minuscule, probably of. sec. x: brown ink” (Ker 1957: 353). S. C. (5: 336) and Meritt (1945: xvi) consider the glosses sec. xi/xii.
DOEC 2009	<T26 590.xml> “OccGl 51.4.1 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 53 [no. 60]).

#### b) *Latin*

Description	Nothing known.
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### 2) BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospel of Mark*, ff. 43<sup>r</sup>–67<sup>r</sup>

#### a) *Old English*

Description	52 OE dry-point glosses and 3 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Meritt (1945: 54–55 [no. 61]).
Literature	Stanley (1990).
Script/Dating	See B1a) above.
DOEC 2009	<T26 600.xml> “OccGl 51.4.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 54–55 [no. 61]).

*b) Latin*

Description     Nothing known.

*c) Further Stylus Activities*

Description     “At the end of Mark on this folio are legible the scratched words *sæl biþ dryhtin* followed by some illegible letters” (Meritt 1945: 55, n. 55).

Editions         Meritt (1945: 55, n. 55).

Literature        None known.

Script/Dating    See B1a) above.

DOEC 2009       Not included.

**3) BIBLE (Vulgate), *Gospel of Luke*, ff. 67<sup>v</sup>–105<sup>v</sup>***a) Old English*

Description     14 OE dry-point glosses and 3 OE ink glosses.

Editions         Meritt (1945: 55 [no. 62]).

Literature        McDougall & McDougall (1993: 134–136).

Script/Dating    See B1a) above.

DOEC 2009       <T26 610.xml> “OccGl 51.4.3 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1945: 55 [no. 62]).

*b) Latin*

Description     No information available.

**[26/K:313] Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library Bodley 572,  
ff. 1–50**

**A) Manuscript**

Nickname	“Codex Oxoniensis Posterior”.
Type	Codex, parchment (S. C. [1922]: 170; Watson 1979: 19).
Dimensions	Ca. 238×153 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. i–iii (modern paper front endleaves) + 1–50 (part 1) + 51–106 (part 2) + 107 (modern paper back endleaf).
Codicology	“At some date before 1606 [part 1] was bound with a copy of the penitential of Cummean [=part 2] (sec. ix [...]), but the different position of rustmarks on (i) ff. 1 and 50 and (ii) ff. 51 and 106 show that the two MSS were once bound separately” (Ker 1957: 377).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 195–200×110–115 mm; ff. 2–25: 25 lines, ff. 26–39: ca. 33–35 lines, ff. 40–50: 28 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Interlace and Coloured initials and capitals (except for ff. 41–50).
Script/Dating	Various parts (see Contents), mostly sec. x, some sec. x <sup>in</sup> or x <sup>med</sup> , plus later additions (Gneuss 2001: 95); Continental and Insular minuscule (cf. Dumville 1993: 142, n. 8), second quarter of sec. x (Falileyev & Russell 2003: 95).
Contents	Based on S. C. (2/1: 171–173) and Gneuss (2001: 95):
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –1 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Mass of St Germanus</i> , fragment, sec. x <sup>in</sup> or x <sup>med</sup> .
ff. 2 <sup>r</sup> –13 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Expositio Missae</i> (‘ <i>Dominus vobiscum</i> ’), sec. x <sup>in</sup> or x <sup>med</sup> .
f. 13 <sup>v</sup>	Versicle and response added at the bottom with neums (cf. Hartzell 2006: 399).
ff. 14 <sup>r</sup> –25 <sup>v</sup>	BIBLE, <i>Liber Tobias</i> , sec. x <sup>in</sup> or x <sup>med</sup> , in several (mixed Continental and Insular) hands.
ff. 26 <sup>r</sup> –36 <sup>r</sup>	AUGUSTINE, <i>De orando Deo</i> (Epist. 130), sec. x.
f. 36 <sup>r</sup>	Subscription naming <i>Bledian</i> as the scribe, sec. x.
ff. 36 <sup>v</sup> –39 <sup>v</sup>	CAESARIUS ARELATENSIS, <i>De igne purgatorio</i> (Sermo 179), sec. x.
f. 39 <sup>v</sup>	Subscription naming <i>Bledian</i> as the scribe, sec. x.
f. 39 <sup>v</sup>	Five short antiphons, added in St Augustine’s at Canterbury, sec. xi/xii.



f. 40 <sup>r</sup>	L. benedictions with OE rubrics, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> . (cf. Ker 1957: 376–377).
f. 40 <sup>r</sup>	A key to cryptographic writing and two OE cryptograms, sec. xi <sup>med</sup> . (cf. Ker 1957: 377).
f. 40 <sup>v</sup>	A paschal table, in which the year AD 981 is marked by a stroke, possibly indicating the year of writing, sec. x.
f. 41 <sup>r</sup>	Three lines of Scandinavian runes, perhaps sec. x (cf. also Derolez 1954: 165–169).
ff. 41 <sup>v</sup> –47 <sup>r</sup>	ANONYMUS, <i>De raris fabulis</i> , the first page partly erased but still readable, sec. x.
ff. 47 <sup>r</sup> –49 <sup>r</sup>	Antiphons and responsories for an office for the dead, with neums (cf. Hartzell 2006: 399), sec. x / xi.
f. 49 <sup>v</sup>	Entries in various hands, added in St Augustine’s at Canterbury, some of them with neums (cf. Hartzell 2006: 400), sec. xi <sup>ex</sup> . or xi <sup>im</sup> .
ff. 50 <sup>r</sup> –50 <sup>v</sup>	Blank except for <i>probationes pennae</i> , showing traces of the earliest binding.
Origin	Assumed to have been partly written in Cornwall (ff. 1–25) and partly in Wales or on the Welsh border (ff. 41–50); for ff. 26–40 both origins seem possible, cf. Lindsay (1912: 28) for discussion, however, more recent literature is in favour of Cornish origin – “almost certainly originated at Lannaled, St Germans” (Dumville 1992b: 117).
Provenance	In England (perhaps Glastonbury) by sec. x <sup>ex</sup> ; probably in Winchester, New Minster, by sec. xi, later in Canterbury St Augustine’s, sec. xi <sup>ex</sup> . Given to the Bodleian by Ralph Barlow in 1606 (cf. S. C. 2 / 1: 174).
Literature	Ker (1957: 376–377 [no. 313]); Cameron (1973: C.60); Gneuss (2001: 95 [no. 583]); Vaciago (1993: 28 [no. 122]); Lindsay (1912: 26–32); Hartzell (2006: 399–400 [no. 259]); Derolez (1954: 165–169); S. C. (2 / 1: 170–174 [no. 2,026]); Dumville (1992a: 65–67); Watson (1979: 19 [no. 102]).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile available from “Early Manuscripts at Oxford University”. <sup>34</sup>

34 URL: <<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl572>>.

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ANONYMUS, *De raris fabulis*, ff. 41<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>r</sup>

Editions	Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 1–11 [no. 1]).
Translations	None known.
Literature	Falileyev & Russell (2006); Koch (2006b).

#### a) Old English

Description	7, perhaps even 8 or 9, OE dry-point glosses.
Editions	<p>Langbaine ([ca. 1650]: 325), Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, cataloguing the MS and reporting: "plerunque habent interpretationem interlinearem, lingua (puto) Cornubiensi aut Cambrica, alicubi etiam Saxonica", i. e. 'often they [the L. words] have an interlinear interpretation, in (I think) Cornish or Welsh, occasionally also in OE'. Craster (1923: 136) thinks the reference to occasional OE glosses can only be to the dry-point glosses, because none of the ink glosses are in OE.</p> <p>Craster (1923: 136), editing 8 dry-point glosses, considering 6 of which to be OE; reporting further, undecipherable dry-point traces on the L. lemmata <i>scapa vel rostrum</i>, <i>rostrum vel clavum</i>, <i>dolabra</i>, <i>incudo</i>, <i>voscerra</i> [sic] and <i>vomer</i>.</p> <p>Meritt (1945: 57 [no. 65]), editing 7 OE dry-point glosses, including 2 readings of which Craster saw traces, but could not decipher; reporting failure at deciphering 1 of Craster's readings (OE ...<i>molc</i>).</p> <p>Falileyev &amp; Russell (2003: 99–101), editing 17 dry-point entries and traces, deciphering Craster's OE ...<i>molc</i> as [OE?] ...<i>ouol</i>, giving three new partial readings of unclear linguistic status (...<i>c</i>, ...<i>pvvi</i> and ...<i>iu</i>), two of them marked as newly-discovered by an asterisk, and one reading not mentioned by either Craster or Meritt without any comment.</p>
Script/Dating	The dry-point glosses "are not, like the ink glosses, by the scribe of the text, but are in a nearly contemporary (early 10th century?) hand" (Craster 1923: 136), i. e. sec. x, first half; aligned with Falileyev & Russell's (2003: 95): x <sup>2-q</sup> .
Literature	Dumville (1992a: 67).
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T26750.xml&gt; "OccGl 61 (Meritt)", representing Meritt's (1945: 57) edition.</p> <p>Craster (1923) and Falileyev &amp; Russell (2003) are not included.</p>

*b) Brittonic (Old Welsh, Old Cornish)*

Description	2 Brittonic dry-point glosses were reported, but more recent research denies their being Brittonic. Ca. 140 Brittonic ink glosses. Early studies considered them Old Cornish; more recent studies see them as being partly Old Welsh, partly Old Cornish, and partly as Old Welsh that is “partially eased into Old Cornish guise” (Dumville 1992a: 66; cf. also Falileyev 2006: 576).
Editions	<p>Langbaine ([ca. 1650]: 325), Provost of Queen’s College, Oxford, cataloguing the MS and reporting: “plerunque habent interpretationem interlinearem, lingua (puto) Cornubiensi aut Cambrica”, i.e. ‘often they [the L. words] have an interlinear interpretation, in (I think) Cornish or Welsh’, but not editing any of them.</p> <p>Zeuss (1853: 1091–1096), editing ca. 100 Brittonic ink glosses.</p> <p>Stokes (1861: 238–249), correcting several of Zeuss’s misreadings.</p> <p>Zeuss &amp; Ebel (1871: 1060–1063), adopting Stokes’s (1861) readings.</p> <p>Craster (1923: 136), editing 8 dry-point glosses, 2 of which he considers Brittonic; reporting further dry-point traces without being able to decipher them.</p> <p>Stevenson &amp; Lindsay (1929: 1–11 [no. 1]), based on Stokes (1861) but unaware of Craster (1923), editing ca. 140 Brittonic ink glosses.</p> <p>Falileyev &amp; Russell (2003: 99–101), editing 17 dry-point entries and traces, re-interpreting Craster’s 2 allegedly Brittonic dry-point glosses as L. or OE and as a consequence denying the existence of any Brittonic dry-point entries in the MS.</p>
Script/Dating	The dry-point glosses “are not, like the ink glosses, by the scribe of the text, but are in a nearly contemporary [...] hand” (Craster 1923: 136), i.e. sec. x.
Literature	Dumville (1992a: 67); Falileyev (2006: 576).

*c) Latin*

Description	Numerous L. ink glosses, possibly also 1 L. dry-point gloss.
Editions	<p>Stevenson &amp; Lindsay (1929: 1–11 [no. 1]), editing the glosses in the critical apparatus.</p> <p>Falileyev (2003: 99–101), editing 17 dry-point entries and suggesting that one of them (considered to be Brittonic by Craster 1923: 136 and undecipherable to Meritt 1945: 57) might be Latin.</p>

Script/Dating	Glosses by scribe of MS, (Craster 1923: 136), i.e. sec. x.
Literature	None known.

## [27/K:320] Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library Digby 146

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, no information about writing medium found.
Dimensions	No information available.
Leaf numbering	104 fos.
Codicology	For collation see Gwara (1996a: 98–99).
Layout	Single column; no information available; 19 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Protruding initials with flourishes, heavily glossed.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>ex</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 98); Phase II Anglo-Caroline minuscule, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> . (Gwara 2001a: 147).
Contents	
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –95 <sup>r</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> .
ff. 95 <sup>v</sup> –100 <sup>v</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Epistola ad Heahfridum</i> .
ff. 101 <sup>v</sup> –104 <sup>r</sup>	An account of the martyrdom of King Edward at Corfe.
Origin	Probably Canterbury, St Augustine's (Gwara 2001a: 147).
Provenance	The MS is thought to have been in Abingdon in sec. xi <sup>med</sup> , when a large number of glosses was copied verbatim from Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650 (cf. Ker 1957: 6–7 [no. 8]). An ex libris, sec. xvi, on f. 1 <sup>r</sup> names Abingdon; in 1622 the MS belonged to Thomas Allen and it was given to the Bodleian by Sir Kenelm Digby in 1634 (cf. Ker 1957: 383).
Literature	Ker (1957: 381–383 [no. 320]); Cameron (1973: C31.13); Gwara (1993: 103–115); Gwara (2001a: 147–156); Vaciago (1993: 28 [no. 124]); Temple (1976: 46 [no. 19 (vi)]); Lapidge (1980a: 20–21 [item IV.3]); Hunt & Watson (1999: 143–144); Goossens (1974: 17); Gneuss (2001: 98 [no. 613]).
Facsimiles	Temple (1976: Ill. 70): f. 7 <sup>r</sup> ; A digital facsimile of f. 18 <sup>v</sup> is available from "Oxford Digital Libraries: Luna". <sup>35</sup>

35 URL: <<http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/>>, s.v. "MS. Digby 146".

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*

Editions	Gwara (2001b) as siglum “O”.
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 59–132).
Literature	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 51–58).

#### a) Old English

Description	2 OE dry-point glosses and more than 5500 OE ink glosses; a large part of the ink glosses was copied verbatim from Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650 (cf. Ker 1957: 6–7 [no. 8]).
Editions	<p>Napier (1900: 1–138 [no. 1]), editing 5504 OE ink glosses and mentioning 2 dry-point glosses in footnotes (1900: 115, n. 4449, 116, n. 4450).</p> <p>Ker (1957: 382), mentioning 1 OE ink gloss not included in Napier (1900) on an unfoliated slip of parchment between ff. 7 and 8.</p> <p>Gwara (1993), editing the dry-point and ink glosses of all extant MSS of ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i>, including many OE dry-point glosses. Gwara (1993) neither confirms nor disconfirms Napier’s dry-point glosses, which would theoretically have to be found in Gwara (1993: 714) [≈ Giles (1844: 62, l. 19) ≈ Ehwald (1919: 301, l. 9)]; perhaps Gwara was not aware of Napier’s footnote, as the information is quite well hidden there. Gwara (1993) edits four previously unnoticed OE ink glosses, two of them without assignable lemmata (1993: 870).</p> <p>Gwara (2001b), editing both the L. and OE ink and dry-point glosses from all extant MSS of ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> in his critical edition of that text.</p>
Script/Dating	Ker (1957: 381–383) discusses the OE glosses in some detail and distinguishes 3 groups, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> , sec. xi <sup>in</sup> . and sec. xi <sup>med</sup> , respectively. All the glosses are in Anglo-Saxon script, except for some in the earliest group.
Literature	Gwara (1998b); Derolez (1960: 82).
DOEC 2009	<p>&lt;T26 040.xml&gt; “AldV 13.1 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900).</p> <p>&lt;T26 045.xml&gt; “AldV 13.1.1 (Ker)”, representing Ker (1957).</p> <p>Napier’s dry-point glosses relegated to the footnotes are not included.</p>

*b) Latin*

Description	About 8500 L. glosses in five principal hands (Gwara 1996a: 99).
Editions	Gwara (1993, 2001b), editing the dry-point and ink glosses of all extant MSS of ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> .
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>ex</sup> (Gwara 1998b: 141).
Literature	Gwara (1998b); Napier (1900: xiii).

**2) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Epistola ad Heahfridum***

Editions	Gwara (1996a); Ehwald (1919: 486–494) as siglum “A”; <i>PL</i> (89: 92D–95B), which is a reprint of Giles (1844: 91–95), whose edition is not reliable (cf. Lapidge & Herren 1979: 22).
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 160–164).
Literature	Gwara (1996a: 98–99); Lapidge & Herren (1979: 143–146); Howlett (1994).

*a) Old English*

Description	2 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 180 [no. 13]), editing 2 OE ink glosses.
Script/Dating	The two glosses belong to Ker’s (1957: 382) group (i), sec. x <sup>ex</sup> .
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26050.xml> “AldV 13.2 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 180 [no. 13]).

*b) Latin*

Description	No precise information available, but probably substantial L. glossing (Gwara 1996a: 99).
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	Presumably sec. x <sup>ex</sup> . (cf. Gwara 1996a: 99).
Literature	Gwara (1996a: 98–99).

## [28/K:349] Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library Rawlinson C. 697

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, no information about writing medium found.
Dimensions	Ca. 260×155 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. 1–78.
Codicology	No information available.
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 185–203×95 mm; 32 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	No information available.
Script/Dating	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 104); Continental hand of sec. ix or x <sup>in</sup> . (Napier 1900: xvii); sec. ix <sup>3,q</sup> (Bischoff 2004: 383).
Contents	Mainly based on Napier (1900: xxvii):
ff. 1–16	ALDHELM, <i>Enigmata</i> .
· f. 1	A note, sec. xiii (Napier 1900: xxvii), reading <i>Olim liber sancti Edmundi regis et martyris</i> .
ff. 17–55	ALDHELM, <i>Carmen de virginitate</i> .
ff. 56–64	ALDHELM, <i>De octo vitiis principalibus</i> .
ff. 64–78	PRUDENTIUS, <i>Psychomachia</i> , tituli of the missing illustrations to <i>Psychomachia</i> added sec. xii (Bischoff 2004: 383).
f. 78 <sup>v</sup>	An acrostic in hexameters on the names <i>Adalstan</i> and <i>Iohannes</i> , (cf. <i>Lapidge 1980b</i> : 72–83).
Origin	North eastern France, sec. ix <sup>3,q</sup> (Bischoff 2004: 383).
Provenance	Presumably in England by sec. x <sup>med</sup> when the OE glosses were entered (cf. O’Keeffe 1985: 73), perhaps in Glastonbury (cf. Gneuss 2001: 104). Lapidge (1980a: 20) speculates that John the Old Saxon, who died c. AD 904, might have brought the MS to England when he came to teach in England at King Alfred’s invitation. The note on f. 1 shows that the MS was in Bury St Edmunds in sec. xiii. A later owner wrote <i>Sum liber J. B.</i> on f. 2, sec. xvii (Ker 1957: 427). Acquired by the Bodleian Library with Richard Rawlinson’s (1690–1755) MSS in 1756.

Literature Ker (1957: 427 [no. 349]); Bischoff (2004: 383 [no. 3871]); Lapidge (1980a: 19–20 [item IV.1]); Gretsche (1999a: 350–351); James (1895: 45); Vaciago (1993: 29 [no. 130]); Bishop (1959: 93); Gneuss (2001: 104 [no. 661]).

Facsimiles Lapidge (1980a: 18, 20 [Fig. 10, Fig. 11]); f. 17<sup>r</sup>; f. 78<sup>v</sup> (detail).

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Enigmata*, ff. 1–16

Editions Ehwald (1919: 97–149), incorporating this MS's readings as siglum "E".

Translations Lapidge & Rosier (1985: 70–94).

Literature Stork (1990).

#### a) Old English

Description 5 OE ink glosses.

Editions Napier (1900: 193 [no. 24]), editing 5 OE ink glosses.

Script/Dating Sec. x<sup>med.</sup> (Lapidge 1980a: 19).

Literature None known.

DOEC 2009 <T26200.xml> "AldÆ 4 (Nap)", representing Napier (1900: 193 [no. 24]).

#### b) Latin

Description No information available.

Editions None known.

Script/Dating Sec. x (Bischoff 2004: 383).

Literature None known.

### 2) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Carmen de virginitate*, ff. 17–55

Editions Ehwald (1919: 350–452).

Translations Lapidge & Rosier (1985: 102–157).

Literature Ehwald (1919: 325–349).



*a) Old English*

Description	17 OE dry-point glosses and 46 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 182–183 [no. 17]), editing 17 OE dry-point glosses and 46 OE ink glosses. Napier (1900: xxxiii) insinuates that he did not edit the dry-point material exhaustively.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>med.</sup> (Lapidge 1980a: 19).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26 140.xml> “AldMV 5.1 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 182–183 [no. 17]).

*b) Latin*

Description	No information available. The facsimile of f. 17 <sup>r</sup> in Lapidge (1980a: 18) shows intermittent glossing.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	Sec. x (Bischoff 2004: 383).
Literature	None known.

**3) Glosses to ALDHELM, *De octo vitiis principalibus*, ff. 56–64**

Editions	Ehwald (1919: 452–471).
Translations	Lapidge & Rosier (1985: 157–167).
Literature	Ehwald (1919: 325–349); Wieland (1986).

*a) Old English*

Description	4 OE dry-point glosses and 6 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 190 [no. 21]), editing 4 OE dry-point glosses and 6 OE ink glosses.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>med.</sup> (Lapidge 1980a: 19).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26 150.xml> “AldMV 5.2 (Nap)”, representing Napier (1900: 190 [no. 21]).

*b) Latin*

Description	No information available.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	Sec. x (Bischoff 2004: 383).
Literature	None known.

**[29/K:362] Oxford (UK), St John's College 154****A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (Hanna 2002: 221).
Dimensions	Ca. 205×155 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. i–ii + 1–222 + iii–iv, two modern paper leaves at each end.
Codicology	Durham letter mark “E”, sec. xiv [?], and late medieval pressmark “2 <sup>a</sup> 7 <sup>l</sup> h” on f. 1 <sup>r</sup> , sec. xv <sup>ex</sup> (Ker 1957: 437). Modern binding; collation described in Hanna (2002: 221).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 165×120 mm; 22 lines to the page (occasionally 21).
Ornamentation	Plain initials in dark red.
Script/Dating	Sec. xi <sup>in</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 107); written “by English scribes in bold, somewhat rough Continental and Insular min[u]scules of the early part of the eleventh century” (Stevenson & Lindsay 1929: viii); sec. xi <sup>in</sup> , xi <sup>ex</sup> (Hanna 2002: 221).
Contents	
ff. 1–160 <sup>r</sup>	ÆLFRIC, <i>Grammar and Glossary</i> , with occasional OE marginalia added in sec. xi <sup>ex</sup> , edited as siglum “O” in Zupitza (1880); cf. Ker (1957: 436).
ff. 160 <sup>v</sup> –198 <sup>r</sup>	ÆLFRIC BATA, <i>Colloquia</i> .
ff. 198 <sup>r</sup> –204 <sup>r</sup>	ÆLFRIC BATA, <i>Colloquia difficiliora</i> .
ff. 204 <sup>r</sup> –215 <sup>r</sup>	ÆLFRIC and ÆLFRIC BATA, <i>Ælfrici abbatis colloquia ab Ælfrico Bata aucta</i> .
ff. 215 <sup>r</sup> –221 <sup>v</sup>	ANONYMUS, <i>Colloquia e libro de raris fabulis retractata</i> , perhaps by ÆLFRIC BATA (cf. Gwara 1996: 1).

ff. 221 <sup>v</sup> –222 <sup>r</sup>	ABBO, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> , part of the prose version of Book III, with a continuous OE gloss.
f. 222 <sup>v</sup>	Blank, “except for a line of rubbed writing ending ‘istum librum’ (s. xi)” (Ker 1957: 436).
Origin	Of Insular origin (Hanna 2002: 221).
Provenance	The MS was at Durham in sec. xii/xiii. The MS was donated to St John's College by Christopher Coles in 1611, whose name is recorded on f. 2 <sup>r</sup> (Ker 1957: 437).
Literature	Gneuss (2001: 107 [no. 686]); Hanna (2002: 221–223); Ker (1957: 436–437 [no. 362]); Gwara (1997b: 254–255); Vaciago (1993: 31 [no. 137]).
Facsimiles	Doane (2007: 83–90 [no. 420]); a full digital facsimile is available from “Early Manuscripts at Oxford University”. <sup>36</sup>

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ÆLFRIC BATA, *Colloquia*, ff. 160<sup>v</sup>–198<sup>r</sup>

Editions	Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 27–66 [IV]); Gwara & Porter (1997: 80–177); Gwara (1996c: 39–91).
Translations	Gwara & Porter (1997: 80–177).
Literature	Gwara & Porter (1997).

#### a) Old English

Description	4 OE dry-point glosses and 70 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Napier (1900: 222–223 [no. 56, 1–72]), editing 4 OE dry-point glosses and 68 OE ink glosses as nos. 1–72.  Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 27–66), largely confirming Napier's readings and adding another 2 OE ink glosses – OE <i>sīpas</i> glossing L. <i>decrescis</i> (f. 182 <sup>v</sup> ) and OE[?] <sup>37</sup> <i>lo</i> (f. 187 <sup>v</sup> ) glossing L. <i>derisor</i> – omitted by Napier.

36 URL: <<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=stj&manuscript=ms154>>.

37 OE *sīpas*[t] ‘(you) wane’ perfectly fits L. *dēcrēscis* ‘(you) wane’, but I cannot expand the merograph OE *lo* glossing L. *dērisor* ‘mockers’ successfully (semantically related OE stems include *bismēr-*, *hleahht-*, *hysc-* or *tæhl-*, but none of them fit). Gwara & Porter (1997: 152) tentatively expand it to \**loga*. They do not discuss, however, how that expansion would connect semantically to the presumed lemma. OE \**loga* ‘liar(?)’ is not attested as a simplex, but is known from composites, such as *þeodloga* ‘arch-liar’ or *trēowloga* ‘pledge-breaker’.

Gwara & Porter (1997: 80–177), including the glosses in their apparatus.

Script/Dating Sec. xi<sup>in</sup>. (Ker 1957: 362).

Literature None known.

DOEC 2009 <T25 800.xml> “OccGl 28 (Nap)” nos. 1–72, representing Napier (1900: 222–223 [no. 56, 1–72]).

Stevenson & Lindsay’s (1929) additions are not included.

### *b) Latin*

Description Emendations to the text and a small number of glosses, such as L. *uel fecerunt* correcting or glossing L. *habent factum* on f. 180<sup>v</sup>.

Editions Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 27–66 [IV]); Gwara & Porter (1997: 80–177).

Script/Dating Probably contemporary with OE glosses.

## **2) Glosses to ÆLFRIC BATA, *Colloquia difficiliora*, ff. 198<sup>r</sup>–204<sup>r</sup>**

Editions Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 67–74 [no. 5]); Gwara & Porter (1997: 178–197); Gwara (1996c: 92–99).

Translations Gwara & Porter (1997: 178–197).

Literature Gwara & Porter (1997).

### *a) Old English*

Description 266 OE ink glosses.

Editions Napier (1900: 222–230 [no. 56, 73–338]), listing 266 OE ink glosses, as nos. 73–338.

Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 67–74), largely confirming Napier’s readings, but giving a number of differing expansions.

Script/Dating Sec. xi<sup>in</sup>. (Ker 1957: 362).

Literature None known.

DOEC 2009 <T25 800.xml> "OccGl 28 (Nap)" nos. 73–338, representing Napier (1900: 222–230 [no. 56, 73–338]), however sometimes misinterpreting Napier and hence the MS evidence, e.g. [017 100 (191)] interpreting Napier's <f::> as *fæ* instead of *fo* (cf. also Napier 1900: 222).

Stevenson & Lindsay's (1929) suggested expansions are not included.

### b) Latin

Description A number of L. ink additions and glosses, such as L. *diligenter* glossing L. *inhianter* on f. 200<sup>v</sup>.

Editions Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 67–74).

Script/Dating Probably contemporary with OE glosses.

## 3) Glosses to ÆLFRIC and ÆLFRIC BATA, *Ælfrici abbatis colloquia ab Ælfrico Bata aucta*, ff. 204<sup>r</sup>–215<sup>r</sup>

Editions Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 75–101 [VI]); Garmonsway (1939).

Translations None known.

Literature Porter (1996, 1997).

### a) Old English

Description 9 OE dry-point glosses and 88 OE ink glosses.

Editions Napier (1900: 222–230 [no. 56, 339–435]), editing 9 dry-point glosses and 88 ink glosses, as nos. 339–435.

Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 75–101), largely confirming Napier's readings, but giving a number of differing expansions and also differing readings, e.g. L. *euadens* 'escaping (part. pres.)' is glossed with OE *ætberstinde* in Napier (1900: 229 [no. 34]), but with OE *ætburstinde* in Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 88).

Script/Dating Sec. xi<sup>in</sup> (Ker 1957: 362).

Literature None known.

DOEC 2009 <T25 800.xml> "OccGl 28 (Nap)" nos. 339–435, representing Napier (1900: 222–230 [nos. 56, 339–435]).

Stevenson & Lindsay's (1929) suggested corrections are not included.

*b) Latin*

Description	A number of L. ink additions and glosses such as L. <i>.i. sapientia</i> , glossing L. <i>scientia</i> on f. 200 <sup>v</sup> .
Editions	Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 75–101).
Script/Dating	Probably contemporary with OE glosses.
Literature	None known.

**4) Glosses to ABBO, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* (prose), f. 221<sup>v</sup>, l. 15–f. 222<sup>r</sup>**

Editions	Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 103–112 [VII]).
Translations	Dass (2007).
Literature	Dass (2007).

*a) Old English*

Description	Continuous ink gloss, added along with the base text on two originally (partly) blank folios.
Editions	Stevenson & Lindsay (1929: 103–112 [VII]).
Script/Dating	In half-size Insular minuscule with Caroline <i>g</i> and <i>h</i> , sec. xi <sup>ex</sup> . (Ker 1957: 436; Gneuss 2001: 107).
Literature	Lendinara (1986).
DOEC 2009	<T24930.xml> “Abbo”, representing Stevenson & Lindsay (1929).

*b) Latin*

Description	The L. and the OE text were added at the same time; some emendations seem to have been added by the original scribe at the time of writing.
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**[30/K:369] Paris (F), Bibliothèque nationale lat. 9561****A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum “prepared in the Insular manner” ( <i>CLA</i> 5: 590).
Dimensions	Ca. 285×200 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. 1–81.
Codicology	Detailed descriptions in <i>CLA</i> (5: 590) and Ebersperger (1999: 115–118 [no. 20]).
Layout	Single-column; written area: ca. 225–245×200 mm; 29–39 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	“Script is not a very expert and late type of uncial showing Continental and Anglo-Saxon influence”, sec. viii ( <i>CLA</i> 5: 590).
Contents	
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –14 <sup>v</sup>	PSEUDO-ISIDORUS, <i>De ordine creaturarum</i> .
ff. 15 <sup>r</sup> –81 <sup>v</sup>	GREGORIUS, <i>Regula pastoralis</i> .
Origin	Southern England ( <i>BMS</i> 2: 332–333); “England or by an English scribe on the Continent, perhaps at Saint-Bertin, where the manuscript was found in the fourteenth century” ( <i>CLA</i> 5: 590), French origin less likely due to OE glosses.
Provenance	St. Bertin (St. Omer, F), “where the manuscript was found in the fourteenth century” ( <i>CLA</i> 5: 590).
Literature	Ker (1957: 441 [no. 369]); Blockley (1994: 82 [no. 369]); Delisle (1863: 38); Chatelain (1901: 85–86 [no. 48]); Beeson (1913: 63–64); <i>CLA</i> (5: 590); Lowe (1929: 15 [no. 14]); Ebersperger (1999: 115–118 [no. 20]); Cameron (1973: C.70.2); Gneuss (2001: 137 [no. 894]); Vaciago (1993: 32 [no. 144]); Lowe (1960: 23 [no. 35]); Lapidge (1996: 442 [no. 30]).
Facsimiles	Chatelain (1901–1902: Pl. 48): f. 7; <i>CLA</i> (5: 590): f. 18; Lowe (1960: Pl. 35): f. 18 <sup>r</sup> .

**B) Glosses****1) Glosses to GREGORIUS, *Regula pastoralis*, ff. 14<sup>r</sup>–81<sup>v</sup>**

Editions	Rommel (1992).
Translations	Davis (1955); Kubis (1986) [G.].
Literature	Floryszczak (2005).

*a) Old English*

Description	Ca. 77 OE dry-point glosses.
Editions	<i>CLA</i> (5 [1950]: 590), reporting: “Anglo-Saxon glosses saec. x, written with a stylus interlinearly, are seen on foll. 33v–42v.”  Meritt (1957: 65–66), editing 67 OE dry-point glosses and giving the position of a further 21 dry-point glosses that were visible but not legible to him.  Morrison (1987), giving a further 10 new OE dry-point glosses.
Script/Dating	Sec. x ( <i>CLA</i> 5: 590).
Language	Dialectally heterogeneous (Wenisch 1979: 114, 327).
Literature	None known.
DOEC 2009	<T26910.xml> “OccGl 70.2 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1957: 65–66).  Morrison (1987) is not included.

*b) Latin*

Description	No information available.
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## [31/K:378] Salisbury (UK), Salisbury Cathedral Library 38

### A) Manuscript

Type	Codex, vellum (Thompson 1880: 9).
Dimensions	Ca. 255×165 mm.
Leaf numbering	Ff. i–ii + ff. 1–81 + ff. iii–iv.
Codicology	For provisional collation see Gwara (2001a: 163). According to a note on the flyleaf i <sup>r</sup> , the volume was re-bound by H. Bailey in 1956 (cf. Gwara 2001a: 163).
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 185×115 mm; 23 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Decorated initials.
Script/Dating	Sec. x <sup>ex</sup> . (Gneuss 2001: 109); Anglo-Saxon minuscule, sec. x <sup>ex</sup> . (Gwara 2001a: 163).

#### Contents

ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –2 <sup>v</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Epistola ad Heahfridum</i> , “offenbar aus einem buchdeckel abgelöst”, i. e. ‘apparently detached from a cover’ (Napier 1893: 204).
ff. 3 <sup>r</sup> –6 <sup>r</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> , capitula.
ff. 6 <sup>v</sup> –7 <sup>r</sup>	Empty.
ff. 7 <sup>v</sup> –81 <sup>v</sup>	ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> , beginning of Ch. 2 missing (Napier 1893: 204).
Origin	Canterbury, Christ Church (Bishop 1971: xxvi); possibly Canterbury, St Augustine’s (Bishop 1963a: 412–413).
Provenance	The book was in Salisbury in medieval times – “no doubt” (Ker 1957: 449); it was certainly in Salisbury by 1622, at which time it was described in Patrick Young’s <i>Catalogus Mss. Bibliothecæ Sarum</i> (Gwara 2001a: 163).
Literature	Ker (1957: 449 [no. 378]); Vaciago (1993: 33 [no. 149]); Thompson (1880: 9); Gwara (1993: 115–123); Gwara (1996a: 94–96); Temple (1976: 46 [no. 19(v)]); Goossens (1974: 18); Bishop (1963a: 412–413); Gneuss (2001: 109 [no. 707]).
Facsimiles	Godfrey (1962: Pl. 12): f. 44 <sup>v</sup> ; Temple (1976: Ills. 65–68): f. 46 <sup>v</sup> , f. 19 <sup>v</sup> , f. 4 <sup>v</sup> , f. 37 <sup>v</sup> (all details).

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate*, ff. 7<sup>v</sup>–81<sup>v</sup>

Editions	Gwara (2001b), as siglum “S”.
Translations	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 59–132).
Literature	Lapidge & Herren (1979: 51–58).

#### a) Old English

Description	6 OE dry-point glosses and 299 OE ink glosses.
Editions	Logeman (1891), editing 277 OE ink glosses (323 semantically relevant word forms in his counting).  Napier (1893), editing an additional 22 OE ink glosses and 6 OE dry-point glosses; also giving 13 corrections to the L. lemmata, adding 6 L. interpretamenta and giving 48 corrections to OE interpretamenta.  Gwara (1993: 870; 1994a: 269 [no. 5]), editing 1 additional ink gloss OE <i>rum</i> glossing L. <i>augustum</i> .  Gwara (2001b), editing both the L. and OE ink and dry-point glosses from all extant MSS of ALDHELM, <i>Prosa de virginitate</i> in his critical edition of that text.
Script/Dating	Gwara (2001a: 164–165) distinguishes 4 major hands writing the L. and the OE ink glosses and dates the glosses sec. x <sup>ex</sup> .
Literature	Sievers (1891: 309–318); Napier (1900: xxiii–xxvi).
DOEC 2009	<T26060.xml> “AldV 14 (Logeman-Nap)”, representing Logeman (1891) with Napier’s (1893) corrections to it and Napier’s (1893) additional findings. Napier’s corrections have not always been incorporated carefully.  Gwara’s editions (1993; 1994) are not represented.

#### b) Latin

Description	Numerous L. ink glosses.
Editions	Gwara (1993; 2001b).
Script/Dating	Gwara (2001a: 164–165) distinguishes 4 major hands writing the L. and the OE ink glosses and dates the glosses sec. x <sup>ex</sup> .

**[32/K:A44] St. Gallen (CH), Stiftsbibliothek 1394, Part IX****A1) Manuscript, St. Gallen (CH), Stiftsbibliothek 1394, pp. 121–122, 125–128**

Type	Fragments, vellum “of Insular type” (CLA 7: 982).
Dimensions	Ca. 282×220 mm (largest folio).
Leaf numbering	Part IX of a collection of fragments, pp. 121–122 (1 fol.) and pp. 125–128 (2 fos.).
Codicology	The fragments now form part of a miscellany of fragments (CLA 7: 977–983), dating from the 4 <sup>th</sup> to the 15 <sup>th</sup> c. AD, bound together in 1822.
Layout	Double columns; writing space 235–245×190–200 mm; 20 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> (Gneuss 2001: 142); Anglo-Saxon minuscule, sec. viii <sup>ex</sup> (CLA 7: 982).
Contents of Part IX	
pp. 121–122	ALDHELM, <i>De metris et enigmatibus</i> .
· p. 121	<i>M. Lucanus libro octavo [...] fractu rum subi</i> (PL 89: 177A–D).
· p. 122	<i>fasta dies aut cesset [...] pertinentibus doceri desidero</i> (PL 89: 176B–177A).
pp. 125–128	ALDHELM, <i>De metris et enigmatibus</i> .
· p. 125	<i>unde compositum est [...] et in thesi quaterna</i> (PL 89: 227D–228B).
· p. 126	<i>De epitrito secundo [...] dedicandi, strangulati strangulandi</i> (PL 89: 228C–229A).
· p. 127	<i>Augeo purpureis gemmarum [...] simul cognomine dicor</i> (PL 89: 186C–187A).
	Then in what is now orange ink: <i>Item senis vel septenis versibus seu pluribus</i> .
	Then: <i>Quis non obstupeat [...] constat jure tenenda</i> (PL 89: 187C).
	Finally: <i>Nos denae et septem [...] componor imagine pennae</i> (PL 89: 189A–189B).
· p. 128	<i>voce carens tremulo vexans Memphitica rura</i> (PL 89: 189B–189D).

Origin	“Written most likely in a German centre with Anglo-Saxon traditions” (CLA 7: 982).
Provenance	MS must have been in St. Gallen in the 9 <sup>th</sup> c., when parts of it were used as binding material (cf. A2).
Literature	Scherrer (1875: 456–461); CLA (7: 982); Cameron (1973: C.33.5); Ker (1976: 130 [App. 44]); Vaciago (1993: 12 [no. 45]).
Facsimiles	Full high-resolution facsimile publicly available from “e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland”. <sup>38</sup>

## A2) Manuscript, Zofingen (CH), Stadtbibliothek Pa 32, f. I

Type	Fragment, detached parchment pastedown.
Dimensions	Ca. 270×215 mm.
Leaf numbering	F.I.
Codicology	Pastedown, now detached (probably on the occasion of the 1986 restoration activities); outer margin heavily damaged; surface covered in remnants of the glue that was used; modern interlinear pencil writing on f. I <sup>r</sup> (word-by-word transcript of mildly difficult L. readings), sec. xx, probably pre-1986; no dry-point glosses were recognizable to me in the summer of 2009, when I inspected the pastedown by means of a handheld flashlight.
Layout	Double columns; writing space 240×190 mm; 20 lines to the page.
Script/Dating	Cf. A1) above.
Contents	
f. I	ALDHELM, <i>De metris et enigmatibus</i> .
·f. I <sup>r</sup>	<i>Nam apes ambizant vel bombizant [...] serpentes sibilant</i> (PL 89: 219D–220B).
·f. I <sup>v</sup>	<i>silvae strepunt [...] significationes diriva[n]tur</i> (PL 89: 220B–220D).
Origin	Cf. A1) above.

<sup>38</sup> URL: <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/1394>>.

Provenance	Used c. ix <sup>med</sup> at St. Gallen as a pastedown in the creation of a copy of ISIDORUS, <i>Etymologia</i> , now Zofingen, Stadtbibliothek Pa 32. This MS was removed from St. Gallen to Berne as a spoil of war in the <i>Zweiter Villmergerkrieg</i> in 1712 and was subsequently presented to the Stadtbibliothek Zofingen as a gift in 1720.
Literature	CLA (7: 982); Bretscher-Gisiger & Gamper (2009: 230–232).
Facsimiles	Full high-resolution facsimile publicly available from “e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland” <sup>39</sup> .

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ALDHELM, *De metris et enigmatibus*

Editions	Ehwald (1919: 33–207), this MS fragment’s readings as siglum “S”; PL (89: 161–238).
Translations	<i>Enigmata</i> are available in several translations, e.g. Lapidge & Rosier (1985: 70–94); for a partial translation of the metrical treatise see Lapidge & Rosier (1985: 191–219).
Literature	Stork (1990).

#### a) Old English

Description	2 published OE dry-point glosses; further dry-point glosses reported in an unpublished seminar paper; all of them on p. 127.
Editions	CLA (7: 982), reporting “some glosses traced with a stylus, now hardly legible”. Meritt (1961: 441 [no. 2]), editing 2 OE dry-point glosses. Schuler (2009: 11–15, unpublished), reporting 5 partial readings (the most confident of them is OE <i>scīre</i> glossing L. <i>alba</i> ) and 7 spots where dry-point glosses have been rendered illegible by rubbing.
Script/Dating	Dry-point glosses in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, Insular <p> and <g> used. No dating available in the literature.
DOEC 2009	<T26200.xml> “AldÆ 5 (Meritt)”, representing Meritt (1961: 441 [no. 2]).

39 URL: <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/zos/pa0032>>.

*b) Latin*

Description	Very little L. glossing.
Editions	None known.
Script/Dating	No information available.
Literature	None known.

**[33/K:–] St. Paul im Lavanttal (A), Stiftsbibliothek 2/1,  
ff. 21–42**

**A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (CLA 10: 1452).
Dimensions	Ca. 335×245 mm.
Leaf numbering	22 leaves, ff. 21–42.
Codicology	Parchment binding, sec. xvii, with MS fragments, sec. xiv, leather spine (Holter 1969: 359); the MS shows traces of folding lengthwise; ff. 21–42 consist of two quinions with two added singletons (f. 39 and f. 41). Former pressmark: 25.2.16.
Layout	Double columns; writing space: 305–315×215 mm; 59 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	“Headings in red in larger letters of almost majuscule type” CLA (10: 1452).
Script/Dating	“[P]ointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule with numerous cursive elements; especially the last lines of chapters and pages are written in rapid cursive full of ligatures”, sec. viii (CLA 10: 1452). Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992: vii) distinguish at least three hands, sec. viii, first half.
Contents	
ff. 1–20	POMPEIUS, <i>Commentum in artem Donati</i> (extracts), cf. CLA (10: 1451).
f. 21 <sup>r</sup>	ANONYMUS, poem of praise on a teacher of grammar (edited in Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992: ix).
ff. 21 <sup>v</sup> –42	ANONYMUS AD CUIMNANUM, <i>Expositio Latinitatis</i> .
ff. 43–75	SERGIUS, <i>Explanationes in Donatum</i> , cf. CLA (10: 1453).

Origin	“Written probably in England, presumably in a Northern scriptorium” (CLA 10: 1452); England (Trende 1952: 359; Lapidge & Sharpe 1985: 94; Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992: vii).
Provenance	In Murbach Abbey (F) around AD 800; in St. Blasien Abbey (D) before AD 1793 and after the dissolution of that institution in AD 1807 removed to the current location (Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992: vii).
Literature	Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992); Gneuss (2001: 143 [no. 933]); Trende (1952: 651); Holter (1969: 359); Pucker et al. (1991: 154); Lapidge & Sharpe (1985: 94–95 [no. 331]); Lapidge (1996: 445 [no. 31]); Glaßner (2002: s. v. “Cod. 2/1 ( <i>olim</i> 25.2.16)”). This MS is not listed in Ker (1957, 1976), Blockley (1982, 1994) or Vaciago (1993), as its glosses were only published in 1992.
Facsimiles	CLA (10: 1452): f. 32 <sup>r</sup> (detail); Holter (1969: 362 [Ill. 491]): f. 1 <sup>r</sup> (detail).

## B) Glosses

### 1) Glosses to ANONYMUS AD CUIMNANUM, *Expositio Latinitatis*, ff. 21<sup>v</sup>–42

Editions	Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992).
Translations	None known.
Literature	Law (1982: 87–90).

#### a) *Old English*

Description	1 certain OE dry-point gloss (L. <i>scamisque</i> – .i. <i>scel</i> , f. 38 <sup>vb</sup> ); 1 only partly legible dry-point gloss assumed to be OE (L. <i>foueo</i> – <i>daece...to</i> , f. 39 <sup>vb</sup> ); further, not yet deciphered glosses may turn out to be Old English.
Editions	Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992).
Script/Dating	Anglo-Saxon script, sec. viii (Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992: viii).
Literature	Gneuss (1990: 8 n. 22).
DOEC 2009	Not included.

b) *Latin*

Description	3 L. dry-point glosses; further, not yet deciphered glosses may turn out to be Latin.
Editions	Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992), reporting 3 L. dry-point glosses and further undecipherable dry-point entries.
Script/Dating	Anglo-Saxon script, sec. viii (Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992: viii).
Literature	None known.

**[34/K:400] Würzburg (D), Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. f. 79****A) Manuscript**

Type	Codex, vellum (Lowe 1960: 22).
Dimensions	Ca. 282×215 mm.
Leaf numbering	28 leaves; ff. 1–28.
Codicology	Medieval half-binding, restored in 1960; remainders of a clasp and traces of a chain hinge on the wooden front cover visible; collation (cf. Thurn 1984: 66): I <sup>8</sup> +II <sup>10</sup> +III <sup>10</sup> .
Layout	Single column; written area: ca. 225–235×170 mm; 21, 25 or 27 lines to the page.
Ornamentation	Initials “IN” on f. 1 <sup>r</sup> and “A” on f. 1 <sup>v</sup> in black and orpiment, the latter with elaborate interlace pattern; initial “Q” on f. 15 <sup>r</sup> only in orpiment.
Script/Dating	Ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –8 <sup>v</sup> (l. 10), “angelsächsische Unziale”, i. e. ‘Anglo-Saxon uncial’ (Hofmann 1963: 57); ff. 8 <sup>v</sup> (l. 11)–28 <sup>v</sup> “Phase I Insular minuscule” (Brown 1993: 196); several hands. Last lines of some pages (e.g. f. 24 <sup>v</sup> ) show Anglo-Saxon cursive writing; various later corrections throughout in Anglo-Saxon uncial, majuscule and minuscule. Sec. viii, first half ( <i>BStK</i> : 1880); sec. viii <sup>1</sup> or viii <sup>med</sup> . (Bischoff & Hofmann 1952: 95); sec. viii <sup>1</sup> (Sims-Williams 1979: 9; Gneuss 2001: 146).
Contents	
ff. 1 <sup>r</sup> –28 <sup>v</sup>	ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, <i>Synonyma</i> , ending imperfectly with L. <i>indagatrix</i> ( <i>PL</i> 83: 868B), with one leaf missing.
·f. 1 <sup>r</sup>	“Liber Sancti Kyliani” written in bottom margin, sec. xiii, and former Würzburg pressmark “CVII” in top margin, sec. xv (Thurn 1984: 66).



Origin	Southern England, perhaps Mercia ( <i>BStK</i> : 1880); perhaps from Worcester diocese (Sims-Williams 1979: 9).
Provenance	By sec. viii <sup>ex</sup> the MS was in the Eastern Franconian area, as witnessed by the OHG glosses (see below); Hofmann (1963: 59) suggests that the MS passed from England through Mainz to Würzburg; definitely in Würzburg in sec. xiii; after the secularisation in 1803 the MS became part of the collection of the Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg.
Literature	<i>BStK</i> (1880 [no. 994]); Bergmann (1983: 9); Thurn (1984: 66); <i>CLA</i> (9: 1426); Ker (1957: 467 [no. 400]); Gneuss (2001: 146 [no. 946]); Vaciago (1993: 35 [no. 157]); Cameron (1973: C.78.3); Elfassi (2009: xliii–xliv); Bischoff & Hofmann (1952: 95–96 [no. * 9]); Lowe (1960: 22 [no. 33]); Moulin-Fankhänel (2001: 364); Lapidge (1996: 445 [no. 33]).
Facsimiles	Full digital facsimile publicly available from “Virtuelle Bibliothek Würzburg”. <sup>40</sup>

## B) Glosses

Prelim. re-mark	Hofmann (1963: 57–58) reports over 150 stylus entries, 39 of which he recognizes to be OE and OHG glosses, while in others he sees L. corrections or dry-point examples of pen trials.
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Die Handschrift enthält über 150 Einträge mit dem Griffel: altenglische und althochdeutsche Glossen, lateinische Korrekturen und sehr viele Spielereien mit Wörtern oder Buchstaben (z. B. *R RSTUXYZ Es* oder *TUORU*: oder 3+1+3 miteinander verbundene *t*) oder einfach mit Strichen und Bögen. Sie sind verschieden stark eingedrückt, seltener eingeritzt; auf den rauhen Seiten oder Stellen sind meistens nur schwache Spuren zu erkennen, wie etwa mehrere senkrechte Striche mit ganz vereinzelt Querstrichen oder Rundungen. Immer wieder erneuertes, mit manchen Irreführungen verbundenes Ringen mit diesen in der Erscheinung schwankenden Griffels Spuren hat nach Ausscheidung der lateinischen Korrekturen und Einträge, der Spielereien und der nicht wenigen hoffnungslosen Fälle auf Bl. 1<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup> 12 althochdeutsche und auf Bl. 3<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup> 27 altenglische Interlinearglossen ergeben. (Hofmann 1963: 57–58)<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> URL: <<http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf79/index.html>>.

<sup>41</sup> I.e. “The MS contains over 150 dry-point entries: OE and OHG glosses, L. corrections and a large number of playful entries consisting of words or letters (e.g. *R RSTUXYZ Es* or *TUORU*: or 3+1+3 letters *t* connected with one another) or consisting of mere lines and arches. They are indented with varying pressure, less often incised; on rough pages or rough spots, there are usually only faint traces recognizable, such as several orthogonal lines with occasional horizontal lines or curves. Accompanied by many aberrances,

## 1) Glosses to ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Synonyma*, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–28<sup>v</sup>

Editions            Elfassi (2009); *PL* (83: 825–868).

Translations      Throop (2012).

Literature          Di Sciacca (2008: 16–76).

### a) *Old English*

Description        27 OE dry-point glosses.

Editions            *CLA* (9: 1426 [published 1959]), reporting “[n]umerous Old English (Kentish) and Old High German glosses scratched in”.

Hofmann (1963: 60–61), editing 27 OE dry-point glosses on ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup> (partly based on Bischoff’s notes).

Script/Dating      Sec. viii (Hofmann 1963: 58).

Language           Mercian or Kentish (Hofmann 1963: 59–60); *CLA* (9: 1426) suggests some of the glosses to be “Old English (Kentish)”, however a Mercian background seems equally likely (cf. Sims-Williams 1979: 17, n. 28).

Literature          Di Sciacca (2008: 69).

*DOEC* 2009        <T27080.xml> “OccGl 78.3 (Hofmann)”, representing Hofmann (1963: 60–61); number “(25)” erroneously used twice.

### b) *Old High German*

Description        12 OHG dry-point glosses.

Editions            *CLA* (9: 1426), reporting “[n]umerous Old English (Kentish) and Old High German glosses scratched in”.

Hofmann (1963: 60–61), editing 12 OHG dry-point glosses on ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup> (partly based on Bischoff’s notes).

Script/Dating      Sec. ix, early (Hofmann 1963: 59).

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repeated wrestling with these dry-point traces, which oscillate in their appearance, resulted in the detection of 12 OHG (on ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>) and 27 OE (on ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>) interlinear glosses, after they had been separated from L. corrections and entries, playful entries and more than a few hopeless cases.

Language	Eastern Franconian (Hofmann 1963: 60).
Literature	Extensive bibliography in <i>BStK</i> (1881); for dry-point glosses in the context of the English mission on the Continent, cf. Glaser (1996: 63, 67).

*c) Latin*

Description	Corrections and glosses both in ink and in dry-point are mentioned in the literature (cf. block quotation above).
Editions	None known.



## 6. Characterization of the Known Corpus of Old English Dry-Point Gloss Manuscripts

In what follows, I shall first present some statistics that may allow us to fathom the status of dry-point writing within the domain of OE glossing. Then I discuss the commonalities among the 34 OE dry-point gloss MSS just catalogued by investigating this corpus for patterns concerning the origins of the MSS, the dates of the MSS, the glossed contents of the MSS, potential times and places at which the dry-point glosses may have been entered, the co-occurrence with vernacular ink glosses, the co-occurrence with other vernacular dry-point glosses and the co-occurrence with so-called construe marks. Such patterns may tell us something about the physical and intellectual contexts in which dry-point glossing in OE would take place and it allows us to identify other Anglo-Saxon MSS that may be interesting candidates for further investigation due to their similarities.

### 6.1 Numbers and Ratios

Based on our *Catalogue* we can count 34 MSS known to contain OE dry-point glosses at the moment. To understand more about the status of dry-point glossing in Anglo-Saxon England, it may prove interesting to see how common the practice is within the extant corpus of Anglo-Saxon MSS. Overall, about 1,200 MSS and MS fragments have been identified so far that have either Anglo-Saxon origin or Anglo-Saxon provenance before AD 1100 (cf. Gneuss 2001: 3). Although, dry-point glosses have also been edited from three MSS that do not belong in this group – because they are considered purely Continental (both concerning origin and provenance) and their OE glosses are assumed to have been added on the Continent<sup>1</sup> – we can still assume that the number of 1,200 MSS roughly outlines the absolute maximum of surviving MSS that may be potential OE dry-point gloss carriers in the first place. If we subtract the three purely Continental MSS, we can calculate a ratio of (ca.  $31 / 1,200 \approx$ ) 2.5 %. This means about one in every forty Anglo-Saxon MSS features OE dry-point glosses.<sup>2</sup>

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1 This is the state of our present knowledge about [1/K:287\*], [12/K:A41] and [32/K:A44]. Interestingly, Ker (1957: 348) does not relegate the “Maihingen Gospels” [1/K:287\*] to the Appendix, even though he presumes Continental origin.

2 As with all numbers that are to follow, we have to treat the results of that estimate with great care. Both the numerator and the divisor eventually will have to be corrected.

The majority of Anglo-Saxon MSS that have been identified to date do not contain any writing in OE, however, because Latin was the dominant literary language of the time. Hence, to fathom the status of dry-point writing in the context of OE literacy, it may be more appropriate to take no account of the MSS that show no traces of vernacular writing in OE for the moment. Ker's (1957, 1976) and Blockley's (1982, 1994) tally of MSS containing OE may serve as a further point of comparison, then: They count 427 MSS in the main part of their *Catalogue* and another 45 MSS in their *Appendix*, adding up to 479 MSS containing OE<sup>3</sup>. To make dry-point gloss MS numbers comparable with these numbers (though it hardly makes any difference), we have to add the two MSS from our *Catalogue* which are not yet included in Ker's numbering system (i. e. [23/K:-] and [33/K:-]), to arrive at 481 MSS. We can then say that about  $(34/481 \approx) 7\%$  of all MSS containing OE feature OE dry-point glosses.

It is perhaps even more informative to calculate the ratio of OE dry-point gloss MSS within the corpus of OE gloss MSS, but for lack of a comprehensive catalogue of OE gloss MSS, this turns out to be an intricate enterprise. If we share the same notion of "gloss MSS" as the definition that *BSIK* operates with, we have to include MSS with glossaries, MSS with continuous interlinear glosses and MSS with occasional glosses. If we start out with the numbers presented in Vaciago's (1993) *Handlist*, we find that 157 MSS contain either occasional or continuous OE glosses. Updating these numbers with the two MSS in our *Catalogue* that were not yet known to Vaciago (1993), we arrive at 159 MSS. There are conflicting statements about the number of OE glossaries in the literature:

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Between 1981, when Gneuss's *Preliminary Handlist* appeared, and 2001, when Gneuss published his much expanded and updated *Handlist*, the number of Anglo-Saxon MSS and MS fragments rose from 947 items to ca. 1,200. It is likely that findings of future codicological and palaeographical studies will cause this number to be increasing further at a slow rate, but major changes are not to be expected. A comparatively more substantial increase in the number of OE dry-point gloss MSS, however, seems possible, since dry-point glosses have not been investigated systematically so far. It is unlikely that our known corpus of OE dry-point gloss MSS at the moment coincides with the actual number of MSS that have dry-point glossing in OE.

- 3 Ker's numbering scheme does not correspond to the actual number of MSS. Ker's (1957) original *Catalogue* counts from no. 1 to no. 412 in the main part (=412). There are, however, the "starred" nos. 6\*, 7\*, 95\*, 97\*, 98\*, 110\*, 116\*, 121\* and 287\* (=+9) and two numbers that have been skipped, namely nos. 44 and 368 (= -2). The (1957) *Appendix* counts 39 MSS (=+39). In Ker (1976), nos. 413–421 (=+9) are added in the main part and nos. 40–45 (=+6) in the *Appendix*. Blockley (1982) can be ignored for our purposes, because these addenda are repeated in Blockley (1994), in which nos. 422 (erroneously printed as "442") to 428 (=+7) are added in the main part, while the *Appendix* remains unchanged. It can be argued that no. 428 in Blockley (1994: 84–85) actually forms part of Ker's no. 6, and hence ought to be ignored for now (= -1), resulting in  $412+9-2+39+9+6+7-1=479$ .

Ker's index (1957: 523–524) counts 63 L./OE glossaries<sup>4</sup> and Cameron (1973: 248–254) counts 59 L./OE glossaries.<sup>5</sup> For the sake of convenience, I shall follow Ker's count just now. By virtue of the fact that they also feature occasional or continuous glosses, 13 of Ker's glossary MSS are already included in Vaciago's (1993) *Handlist* and have to be subtracted.<sup>6</sup> Thus, we arrive at  $(157+2+63-13)=209$  OE gloss MSS in comparable fashion to *BStK*. We can now calculate a ratio of  $(34/209\approx) 16.3\%$  for OE dry-point gloss MSS within the corpus of OE gloss MSS. That means about one in six OE gloss MSS (including occasional glosses, continuous glosses and glossaries) features OE dry-point glosses. Despite the fact that large numbers of OHG dry-point gloss MSS have been identified in recent years, OE dry-point gloss MSS still constitute a larger fraction within the corpus of OE gloss MSS ( $\approx 16.3\%$ ) than OHG dry-point gloss MSS do within the corpus of OHG gloss MSS ( $\approx 11-13\%$ ).<sup>7</sup>

So far, dry-point glossing in OE is known only in the form of occasional glosses and it may well make sense to calculate a ratio of known dry-point gloss MSS within the corpus of known occasional gloss MSS. Again, we can start out from Vaciago's (1993) *Handlist*, in which 133 of the listed 157 MSS contain occasional OE glosses.<sup>8</sup> We then add the two missing MSS from our *Catalogue* to arrive at a ratio of  $(34/135\approx) 25\%$ . That means one in four MSS with occasional OE glosses features dry-point glosses. When it comes to occasional OE glossing, writing in dry-point seems to have been a valid alternative to writing in ink in Anglo-Saxon England.

4 Ker nos. 2, 8, 9, 25, 36, 42, 110, 114, 143, 146, 154, 184, 198, 207, 210, 227, 239, 240, 241, 249, 256, 258, 295, 298, 304, 311, 317, 345, 347, 360, 371, 406, A4, A5, A6, A7, A9, A10, A11, A14, A15, A16, A17, A18, A19, A20, A21, A22, A23, A24, A26, A27, A28, A29, A30, A31, A32, A33, A34, A35, A36, A38 and A39.

5 The differences arise ( $\alpha$ ) from [K:8] and [K:239], which are not included by Cameron ( $=-2$ ); ( $\beta$ ) [K:A16] and [K:A26], which are treated as one item by Cameron ( $=-1$ ); ( $\gamma$ ) [K:A24], [K:A27] and [K:A38], which are treated as one item as well ( $=-2$ ); ( $\delta$ ) Cameron (1973: 252 [no. 43] = Leiden, Bibliotheek Der Rijksuniversiteit BPL 191), which is not catalogued by Ker or Blockley ( $=+1$ ); hence  $63-2-1-2+1=59$ .

6 Ker nos.: 2, 8, 146, 198 (i. e. [17/K:198]), 207, 210 (i. e. [18/K:210]), 227, 249, 256, 295, 304, 360 and 371.

7 The number of known OHG dry-point gloss MSS has been increasing very quickly and the latest numbers have not been published. Therefore, I have to rely on estimates for the moment.

8 I tried to count them as carefully as I could and I identified 125 occasional-only gloss MSS, 32 continuous-only gloss MSS and 8 MSS that feature both occasional and continuous glosses:  $125+8=133$  occasional gloss MSS.

## 6.2 Origins of the Manuscripts

The origins are not established with equal confidence for all OE dry-point gloss MSS.<sup>9</sup> In general, we can say that about two thirds of the 34 OE dry-point gloss MSS originated in Great Britain and about one third originated on the Continent.

### *Canterbury, Christ Church*

- London, BL Royal 15 B. xix	[22 / K:268]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup> or x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Royal 6 A. vi	[20 / K:254]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun. 189	[2 / K:7]	Sec. x / xi	Canterbury CC
- Cambridge, CCC 326	[7 / K:61]	Sec. x / xi	Canterbury CC
- Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 31	[10 / K:95]	Sec. x / xi	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Cotton Cleopatra C. viii	[16 / K:145]	Sec. x / xi	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Royal 5. E. xi	[19 / K:252]	Sec. x / xi	Canterbury CC
- Salisbury, Cathedral 38	[31 / K:378]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC, StA?

### *Canterbury, St Augustine's*

- Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 30	[9 / K:94]	Sec. x <sup>med.</sup>	Canterbury StA
- London, Lambeth Palace 200	[23 / K:–]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup>	Canterbury StA
- Oxford, Bodleian Digby 146	[27 / K:320]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury StA

9 For reasons of clarity and comprehensibility, I shall not quote the sources for the attributions and datings made in this and the following sections. All the information given and all the claims made are exclusively based on the sources quoted in detail in the *Catalogue* above. Hence, readers are kindly advised to consult the *Catalogue* to trace back individual pieces of information. Dates and origins quoted for Anglo-Saxon MSS that are not part of the *Catalogue* are taken from Gneuss (2001) and Ker (1957) and its subsequent updates.



*Abingdon / Canterbury / Worcester?*

- "Yale Fragment"	[24 / K:12]	Sec. ix <sup>in.</sup> (viii <sup>ex?</sup> )	Canterbury?, Worcester?
- Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21	[11 / K:24]	Sec. x <sup>1</sup> or x <sup>med.</sup>	Abingdon(?)
- London, BL Royal 13 A. xv	[21 / K:266]	Sec. x <sup>med.</sup>	Worcester?, Ramsey?
- Cambridge, CCC 57	[3 / K:34]	Sec. x / xi	Abingdon, Can- terbury CC?

*Cornwall*

- Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572	[26 / K:313]	Sec. x <sup>2/4</sup>	Cornwall, Lan- naled?
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*Broadly Placed in England*

- Würzburg, UB M. p. th. f. 79	[34 / K:400]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	S England
- St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2 / 1	[33 / K:-]	Sec. viii, first half	N? England
- Paris, BN lat. 9561	[30 / K:369]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup> or viii <sup>med.</sup>	S England
- Cambridge, CCC 173	[4 / K:40]	Sec. viii <sup>2</sup>	S England, Kent?
- London, BL Cotton Tiberi- us C. ii	[17 / K:198]	Sec. ix <sup>2/4</sup> (vi- ii <sup>ex?</sup> )	S England, Can- terb. StA?
- Oxford, St John's College 154	[29 / K:362]	Sec. xi <sup>in.</sup>	England
- Cambridge, CCC 285	[6 / K:54]	Sec. xi <sup>in.</sup>	England

*Sphere of the Anglo-Saxon Mission on the Continent*

- Köln, EDDB 213	[14/K:98*]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Lindisfarne, Echternach?
- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394	[32/K:A44]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Germany?
- Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2	[1/K:287*]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Echternach, Northumbria?

*Italy*

- Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65	[13/K:121*]	Sec. vi	N Italy
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*N and NE France*

- Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2	[12/K:A41]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Luxeuil, Mainz?
- London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv	[18/K:210]	Sec. ix <sup>1/4</sup>	N or NE France
- Cambridge, CCC 223	[5/K:52]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	N France, Saint-Bertin?, Arras?
- Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 697	[28/K:349]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	NE France

*Brittany*

- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 45–1980	[8/K:7*]	Sec. ix <sup>ex</sup> .	W France, Dol- de-Bretagne?
- Oxford, Bodleian Auctarium D. 5. 3	[25/K:293]	Sec. ix/x	Brittany(?)
- London, BL Additional 40 000	[15/K:131]	Sec. x <sup>in</sup> .	France, Brittany?, SW France??

Within the Insular group, Canterbury emerges as the most frequent place of origin by a margin: 8 MSS are associated with Canterbury, Christ Church and

3 MSS with Canterbury, St Augustine's,<sup>10</sup> all of them produced in the late 10<sup>th</sup> or early 11<sup>th</sup> c., presumably in the wake of the Benedictine Reform. Canterbury origin is also discussed in connection with Cambridge, CCC 57 [3/K:34], which was produced at about the same time, but Abingdon origin still seems to be favoured in the literature. Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21 [11/K:24], whose production falls into that era as well, is also suspected to originate from Abingdon, mainly based on an inscription referring to Abingdon's surroundings. For the 9<sup>th</sup>-c. "Yale Fragment" [24/K:12] both Canterbury and Worcester origin are considered to be possible on palaeographic grounds, and London, BL Royal 13 A. xv [21/K:266], sec. x, has also been associated with Worcester. Partly Cornish and partly Welsh origin has been conjectured for Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572 [26/K:313], sec. x, but more recent literature prefers Cornish origin. Four 8<sup>th</sup>-c. MSS, the 9<sup>th</sup>-c. "Cotton Bede" [17/K:198] and two 11<sup>th</sup>-c. MSS are only vaguely placed in (Southern) England. Equally uncertain is the origin of Paris, BN lat. 9561 [30/K:369], sec. viii, which may have been produced in an unidentified Southern English centre or possibly even on the Continent, though the presence of OE glosses and its subsequent St Bertin provenance renders Continental origin perhaps a little less likely, as the MS would have had to travel back and forth.

For three 8<sup>th</sup>-c. MSS a close connection with the Anglo-Saxon mission on the Continent can be discerned, placing them arguably in between Great Britain and the Continent. For both Köln, EDDB 213 [14/K:98\*] and Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2 [1/K:287\*] it has been argued that they were either produced in Northumbria or in Echternach by a scribe trained in a Northumbrian centre. It seems that the palaeographical literature prefers the first interpretation for the former and the second interpretation for the latter at the moment. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394, Part IX, of which only a fragment is extant [32/K:A44], may have been written in a German centre with active Anglo-Saxon traditions.

Within the Continental group, Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65 [13/K:121\*], sec. vi, is quite exceptional both for its great age and its Northern Italian origin. It is also connected to the Anglo-Saxon mission on the Continent; however, the MS was not produced in its context, but rather became part of it after some extensive travelling. Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2 [12/K:A41] is assumed to have been produced in Luxeuil or a centre under its influence in sec. viii. Legend also connects it to the Anglo-Saxon mission on the Continent by interpreting the cuts in the MS's cover as tangible evidence of Boniface's fatal encounter with the Frisians.

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10 The "Cotton Bede" [17/K:198] has also been associated tentatively with Canterbury, St Augustine's, but this is hotly debated and several other origins are advocated in the literature (cf. p. 149).

The remaining six MSS were produced in France and they all reached Great Britain at an early date. Three 9<sup>th</sup>-c. MSS are placed in Northern France<sup>11</sup> and three late 9<sup>th</sup>-c. and early 10<sup>th</sup>-c. MSS, strikingly all containing the *Gospels*, are associated with Brittany.<sup>12</sup>

### 6.3 Dates of the Manuscripts

By far the oldest known OE dry-point gloss MS is Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65 [13/K:121\*], which is dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>13</sup> It predates all other MSS in the *Catalogue* by more than a century, as there is no known OE dry-point gloss MS from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. Next, there is a group of eight MSS that are now predominantly held in Continental libraries, from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. The 9<sup>th</sup> c. is represented by seven MSS, while the majority of 16 OE dry-point gloss MSS is to be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> c., with a large subgroup of 6 of those bordering on the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Finally, two early 11<sup>th</sup>-c. MSS represent the most recent group of OE dry-point gloss MSS.

In the following list, the MSS are ordered in chronological order based on the datings culled from the literature. More general estimates, such as “first half” are ordered after more precise estimates of the same period.

#### 6<sup>th</sup> Century

- Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65	[13/K:121*]	Sec. vi	N Italy
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#### 8<sup>th</sup> Century

- Köln, EDDB 213	[14/K:98*]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Lindisfarne, Echternach?
- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394	[32/K:A44]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Germany?
- Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2	[1/K:287*]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Echternach, Northumbria?
- Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2	[12/K:A41]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Luxeuil, Mainz?

11 [5/K:52], [18/K:210] and [28/K:349].

12 [8/K:7\*], [15/K:131] and [25/K:293].

13 For most MSS, the dates given in the literature are conflicting. For a quick overview of datings, the *Catalogue* above may be consulted. The dates quoted here are usually from Gneuss (2001), CLA or Ker (1957) – in that order of precedence.

- Würzburg, UB M.p. th.f. 79	[34 / K:400]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	S England
- St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2 / 1	[33 / K:-]	Sec. viii, first half	N? England
- Paris, BN lat. 9561	[30 / K:369]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup> or viii <sup>med.</sup>	S England
- Cambridge, CCC 173	[4 / K:40]	Sec. viii <sup>2</sup>	S England, Kent?

### 9<sup>th</sup> Century

- "Yale Fragment"	[24 / K:12]	Sec. ix <sup>in.</sup> (viii <sup>ex?</sup> )	Canterbury?, Worcester?
- London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv	[18 / K:210]	Sec. ix <sup>1/4</sup>	N or NE France
- London, BL Cotton Tiberius C. ii	[17 / K:198]	Sec. ix <sup>2/4</sup> (vi-ii <sup>ex?</sup> )	S England, Canterb. StA?
- Cambridge, CCC 223	[5 / K:52]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	N France, Saint-Bertin?, Arras?
- Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 697	[28 / K:349]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	NE France
- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 45-1980	[8 / K:7*]	Sec. ix <sup>ex.</sup>	W France, Dol-de-Bretagne?
- Oxford, Bodleian Auctarium D. 5. 3	[25 / K:293]	Sec. ix / x	Brittany(?)

### 10<sup>th</sup> Century

- London, BL Additional 40 000	[15 / K:131]	Sec. x <sup>in.</sup>	France, Brittany?, SW France??
- Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572	[26 / K:313]	Sec. x <sup>2/4</sup>	Cornwall, Lannald?
- Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21	[11 / K:24]	Sec. x <sup>1</sup> or x <sup>med.</sup>	Abingdon(?)
- Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 30	[9 / K:94]	Sec. x <sup>med.</sup>	Canterbury StA

- London, BL Royal 13 A. xv	[21/K:266]	Sec. x <sup>med.</sup>	Worcester?, Ramsey?
- London, BL Royal 15 B. xix	[22/K:268]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup> or x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC
- London, Lambeth Palace 200	[23/K:–]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup>	Canterbury StA
- London, BL Royal 6 A. vi	[20/K:254]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC
- Oxford, Bodleian Digby 146	[27/K:320]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury StA
- Salisbury, Cathedral 38	[31/K:378]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC, StA?
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun. 189	[2/K:7]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- Cambridge, CCC 57	[3/K:34]	Sec. x/xi	Abingdon, Can- terbury CC?
- Cambridge, CCC 326	[7/K:61]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- Cambridge, Trinity Col- lege O. 2. 31	[10/K:95]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Cotton Cleop- atra C. viii	[16/K:145]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Royal 5. E. xi	[19/K:252]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC

### 11<sup>th</sup> Century

- Oxford, St John's College 154	[29/K:362]	Sec. xi <sup>in.</sup>	England
- Cambridge, CCC 285	[6/K:54]	Sec. xi <sup>in.</sup>	England

Several observations can be drawn from the list. There are about as many MSS from the 9<sup>th</sup> c. as there are from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. in our *Catalogue*, even though MS production in Anglo-Saxon England was at a pronounced low in the 9<sup>th</sup> c.: Less than two dozen MSS that were produced in 9<sup>th</sup>-c. England have been identified so far, and the reasons for this are not yet fully understood (cf. Gneuss 2001: 4).<sup>14</sup>

14 It may be that the social upheaval caused by the arrival of the Vikings decisively hampered book production. After all, their raids started in AD 793 and picked up considerable force after that, which may well account for very low numbers of extant MSS from 9<sup>th</sup>-c. England, while at the same time Continental book production resulted in ca. 7,000 extant MSS today (cf. Bischoff 1998 and 2004). The availability of resources (both with regard to

Fittingly, only two MSS (if the “Yale Fragment” is ascribed to the late 8<sup>th</sup> c. it is even only one MS) with an English origin from our *Catalogue* are dated to that era. The gap was evidently filled by the importation of French MSS, most likely during the re-development phase initiated by the Benedictine Reform movement. For obvious reasons, these MSS would have received their OE ink and dry-point glossing only after their importation to Great Britain and it would be highly interesting to know where these MSS passed through during that stage. The most important centres of the Reform were Glastonbury, Worcester, Winchester and Canterbury, but unfortunately, the provenance of all seven French MSS before the end of the Anglo-Saxon era is completely obscure.

The large group of MSS from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. can clearly be associated with the efforts of the Benedictine reform movement at Canterbury, where Dunstan was Archbishop from AD 959 to 988. In fact, Canterbury origin from that period is so over-represented that one may seriously wonder if the presence of all these MSS in the *Catalogue* testifies to Canterbury being something of a centre of dry-point glossing at the time. However, there is no data available that would allow for a diagnostically conclusive interpretation of that high number of Canterbury MSS. The lack of a chronological index as well as indices to origin and provenance in Gneuss (2001) make it very difficult to quantify such clusters analytically, for the time being.

6.4 Contents of the Manuscript Parts Glossed in Dry-Point

6.4.1 Gospels

If we classify the 34 OE dry-point gloss MSS from our *Catalogue* according to their contents, we can see that there are 4 biblical MSS that are glossed in dry-point, namely:

- Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2	[1/K:287*]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Echternach, Northumbria?
- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 45–1980	[8/K:7*]	Sec. ix <sup>ex</sup>	W France, Dol- de-Bretagne?

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materials – such as cowhides – and personnel – such as tanners and scribes) may have undergone a sharp decrease, causing the costs for MS production to rise considerably. Then again, the Vikings perhaps only added to a pre-existing problem, as Gneuss (ibid.) points out: If we take King Alfred’s analysis from his preface to the OE translation of GREGORY’s *Pastoral Care* at face value, the levels of learnedness in England had reached a dangerously low level, even before the Vikings tipped the balance in further disfavour of MS production.

- Oxford, Bodleian Auctarium D. 5. 3	[25/K:293]	Sec. ix/x	Brittany(?)
- London, BL Additional 40 000	[15/K:131]	Sec. x <sup>in</sup> .	France, Brittany?, SW France??

They all contain the *Gospels* of the four evangelists, except for the fragmentary Oxford MS, in which the *Gospel of John* is missing. The *Gospels* were of paramount importance in late Anglo-Saxon Christian culture and it is the text of which the most Anglo-Saxon copies have come down to us: Gneuss (2001: 166) lists some 80 Anglo-Saxon MSS of the *Gospels* (about one third of which are only extant in the form of fragments or excerpts, though).<sup>15</sup> The rather small number of 4 OE dry-point gloss MSS may be indicative of relatively low dry-point glossing activity in them. It is interesting to note, however, that Anglo-Saxon *Gospels* are not commonly glossed in OE, anyway. Apart from the 4 dry-point gloss MSS listed above (of which only 3 have occasional OE ink glosses), merely another 2 MSS are reported to feature OE ink glosses and in both cases it is an interlinear gloss: One of them is the famous “Lindisfarne Gospels” (London, British Library Cotton Nero D. iv [K:165]), written in Lindisfarne, sec. 687×689, and glossed in Chester-le-Street by Aldred, sec. x<sup>3/4</sup> (Ker 1957: 215–216). The other is the equally famous “Rushworth Gospels” (Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium D. 2. 19 [K:292]), written in Ireland, sec. viii<sup>ex</sup>. or ix<sup>in</sup>., and continuously glossed in N or W England by Farman and Owun, sec. x<sup>2</sup> (Ker 1957: 352). Among the MSS occasionally glossed in OE ink, ink-and-dry-point gloss MSS even outnumber the ink-only gloss MSS. It seems likely that the majority of the other more than seventy MSS have not been searched exhaustively for dry-point glossing.

The Old Testament attracted even less glossing: There is no documented example of an Anglo-Saxon Old Testament with OE dry-point glosses, of which Gneuss (2001: 157) lists 5 complete MSS and 13 fragments and excerpts. Three of

15 In this Section, I will use the term “Anglo-Saxon MSS” as denoting the Gneussian notion of MSS “written or owned in England up to 1100” (cf. Gneuss 1981; Gneuss 2001). Anglo-Saxon MSS, then, do not form a palaeographically (or even historically) uniform group; instead, they simply constitute the corpus of known MSS which were at some stage available in an Anglo-Saxon context. I heavily relied on Gneuss’s (2001: 149–184) “Index I: Authors and texts” for the following assembly of Anglo-Saxon MS copies of L. texts; unfortunately, the index, which seems to have been compiled manually, does not always exhaustively list all catalogued MSS of a particular text (cf. for instance below p. 222, n. 31, p. 224, n. 37 or p. 225, n. 39).



them are glossed in OE ink, however.<sup>16</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572 [26/K:313] comprises, among various other items (some of which are glossed in dry-point), the Book of Tobias, but there are no vernacular glosses reported from it.

#### 6.4.2 Patristic Literature

Three 8<sup>th</sup>-c. MSS and one early 9<sup>th</sup>-c. MS among the OE dry-point gloss MSS contain patristic literature:

- Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2	[12/K:A41]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Luxeuil, Mainz?
- Paris, BN lat. 9561	[30/K:369]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup> or viii <sup>med.</sup>	S England
- Würzburg, UB M.p.th.f. 79	[34/K:400]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	S England
- London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv	[18/K:210]	Sec. ix <sup>1/4</sup>	N or NE France

ISIDORE's *Synonyma* were moderately popular in Anglo-Saxon England with 7 MS witnesses of the L. text listed in Gneuss (2001: 169).<sup>17</sup> It therefore comes as something of a surprise that no less than three MSS of ISIDORE's *Synonyma* (namely the Fulda MS [12/K:A41], the Würzburg MS [34/K:400] and the London MS [18/K:210]) feature OE dry-point glosses, thus making the *Synonyma* one of the most-often glossed texts in OE dry-point, second only to the *Gospels*.

16 All three MSS with *Vulgata* texts that are glossed in OE ink only contain *Vulgata* excerpts:

- Cambridge, Trinity College Library B. 10. 5 [K:83]; sec. viii<sup>1</sup>; Northumbria?
- London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. vi., ff. 2–77 [K:207]; sec. x<sup>med.</sup> (or x<sup>2</sup>); Canterbury StA
- London, BL Royal 7 C. iv [K:256]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; Canterbury CC

The Trinity MS features two OE ink glosses in ST PAUL's, *Epistulae*; the Vespasian MS over 1,100 occasional OE ink glosses to *Proverbs*. The Royal MS features a continuous OE ink gloss to excerpts from *Ecclesiasticus*.

17 An Anglo-Saxon copy of ISIDORE, *Synonyma* with OE ink glosses is preserved in:

- London, British Library Harley 110 [K:228]; sec. x<sup>ex.</sup>; Canterbury CC

No OE glosses are reported from:

- St Petersburg, Russian National Library Q.v. I. 15 [G:845]; sec. viii<sup>2</sup>; SW England
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 448, ff. 1–86 [G:114]; sec. x<sup>1</sup> or x<sup>med.</sup>; S England (or Worcester?)
- Salisbury, Cathedral Library 173 [G:752]; sec. x<sup>ex.</sup>; Continent
- London, British Library Royal 5. E. xix [G:461]; sec. xi<sup>ex.</sup>; Salisbury

A partial OE translation of the *Synonyma* is contained in (cf. Szarmach 1999):

- London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii [K:186]; sec. xi<sup>med.</sup>; Canterbury CC

In comparison to the extant number of MSS, the *Synonyma* even outstrip the *Gospels* by a margin.

The Fulda MS [12/K:A41] comprises several pieces of early dogmatic writings and symbola, including a copy of a creed traditionally ascribed to AMBROSE and a copy of a treatise by FAUSTUS REIENSIS, both with one edited OHG dry-gloss each. The copy of ISIDORE's *Synonyma* at the end of the MS contains four edited OE dry-point glosses. The Würzburg MS [34/K:400] features a large number of dry-point traces, 27 of which have been identified as OE glosses to ISIDORE's *Synonyma*, and the Cotton MS (Part II) [18/K:210] consists of a selection of BOETHIUS, *De consolazione philosophiae* and of a copy of ISIDORE's *Synonyma*, in which at least 33 L. lemmata are glossed in OE dry-point.

The Paris MS [30/K:369] contains a copy of PSEUDO-ISIDORE's, *De ordine creaturarum* and of GREGORY's *Pastoral Care* (*Regula pastoralis*), the latter of which is glossed in OE in dry-point. More than a dozen L. copies of the *Pastoral Care* are listed in Gneuss (2001: 166),<sup>18</sup> and King Alfred's OE translation of it is preserved in no less than six MS witnesses.<sup>19</sup> Curiously, this abundance is not reflected in the vernacular glossing of these MSS: The Paris MS [30/K:369], with about 77 OE dry-point glosses (presumably there are more, but they have not yet been edited), and Oxford, St John's College 28 with merely two OE ink glosses, are the only two OE gloss MSS of GREGORY's *Pastoral Care*. It is surprising that this book, which King Alfred considered to be so crucial that he had copies sent to all corners of his dominion, did not spur more interest. A glance at OHG findings shows a significantly higher glossing activity, as Ernst (2007: 508–513) lists no fewer than 42 MSS of GREGORY's *Pastoral Care* with OHG glosses, at least

18 The other extant Anglo-Saxon copies of GREGORY's *Pastoral Care* are:

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 13089, ff. 49–76 [G:898.5]; sec. viii<sup>med</sup> or viii<sup>2</sup>; Northumbria, Wearm.-Jarrow?
- London, British Library Cotton Otho A. i [G:346]; sec. viii<sup>2</sup> (abridged); Mercia or Canterbury?
- Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 32 [G:833]; sec. viii; S England
- Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library Add. 3 [G:771]; sec. viii (fragment); unknown
- London, British Library Harley 5431, f. 140 [G:439.6]; sec. ix; Wales?
- Oxford, St John's College 684 (with OE ink glosses) [G:684]; sec. x<sup>med</sup> or x<sup>3/4</sup>; Canterbury StA?
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 708 [G:590]; sec. x<sup>ex</sup>; Canterbury CC
- Glasgow, University Library Hunterian 431, ff. 1–102 [G:261]; sec. x/xi or xi<sup>in</sup>; unknown
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. municipale 63, ff. 1–34 [G:800]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup> (excerpt); England
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi 361 [G:99]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup> or xi<sup>2</sup>; England?, Malmesbury?
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 783 [G:598]; sec. xi<sup>ex</sup>; Normandy
- Salisbury, Cathedral Library 157 [G:742]; sec. xi<sup>ex</sup>; England?
- Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School 21 [G:755.5]; sec. xi/xii; Normandy

19 Cf. Ker (1957: nos. 19, 30, 87, 175, 195 and 324).

12 of which feature OHG dry-point glosses.<sup>20</sup> One may wonder how this stark difference can be explained: Perhaps the availability of Alfred's translation rendered the study of the L. original less important in (late) Anglo-Saxon England, which resulted in fewer glosses in the text. Further quantifications would be necessary to give these thoughts further credence, though, which are beyond our focus just now. Certainly, the corpus of Anglo-Saxon MSS of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* listed in Gneuss (2001) ought to be investigated more closely for dry-point glossing first.

### 6.4.3 Sentential Literature

In several respects, ISIDORE's *Synonyma* border on the sententious and the respective MSS might equally fittingly be grouped with a MS that contains several collections of *sententiae*, namely:

- Cambridge, Trinity Col- lege O. 2. 31	[10/K:95]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
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It combines PROSPER's *Epigrammata*, the so-called *Disticha Catonis* and PRUDENTIUS's *Dittochaëon*, all of which contain at least one OE dry-point gloss.<sup>21</sup>

In PROSPER's *Epigrammata* contained in the Trinity MS [10/K:95], some OF and OE glosses in ink have been added, too. PROSPER's *Epigrammata* are preserved in five Anglo-Saxon MSS,<sup>22</sup> two of which contain occasional OE glosses and one of which (a fragment) even features a continuous interlinear gloss.

20 In *BStK* the following OHG dry-point MSS with GREGORY's *Pastoral Care* are listed: nos. 205, 207, 330, 488, 518, 552, 652, 677, 693, 735, 928 and 1010. Further MSS, e.g. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 216 (*BStK*: no. 204; cf. Nievergelt 2011: 316) or München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 21 525 (*BStK*: no. 677; cf. Nievergelt 2012: 382), have been identified since.

21 Provided the single dry-point gloss to PRUDENTIUS, *Dittochaëon* really is OE and not OF (see below).

22 The other Anglo-Saxon copies of PROSPER's *Epigrammata* glossed in OE are:

- London, British Library Harley 110 [K:228]; sec. x<sup>ex</sup>; Canterbury CC
- London, BL Cotton Tiberius A. vii, ff. 165–166 [K:189]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup> (fragment); W France

No glosses have been edited from the other two Anglo-Saxon copies of PROSPER's *Epigrammata*:

- Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [G:12]; sec. xi<sup>med.</sup>; Canterbury StA
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 114 [G:114]; sec. xi/xii; S England or Worcester?

The *Disticha* ascribed to Cato are preserved in four Anglo-Saxon MSS, two of which are glossed in OE.<sup>23</sup> In addition to that, OE translations of parts of the *Disticha* are known from three MSS.<sup>24</sup>

Whether PRUDENTIUS's *Dittochaeon* (or *Tituli historiarum*) can be counted among the L. texts for which OE glosses have been recorded at all is uncertain. MS copies of PRUDENTIUS's *Dittochaeon* are well-attested from Anglo-Saxon England, with 10 MSS listed in Gneuss (2001).<sup>25</sup> Curiously, none of them is glossed in OE ink, though. Even from the copy of PRUDENTIUS's *Dittochaeon* preserved in Cambridge, CCC 223 [5/K:52], which comprises several texts of PRUDENTIUS and from which more than 100 dry-point glosses as well as ink and pencil glosses from various parts of the MS have been edited, no ink or dry-point glosses have been reported. The only gloss that has been edited from the copy of the *Dittochaeon* in the Trinity MS [10/K:95] could arguably be OE or OF (cf. p. 130). From the point of view of lexicography OF is more likely; from the point of view of glossography it can be argued, however, that no stylus activity in French is known from that particular MS, whereas several OE dry-point glosses have been edited. Further close inspection of that part of the MS may bring additional evidence to light one day.

23 The other Anglo-Saxon copy of Ps.-CATO's *Disticha* is:

- Oxford Bodleian Library Rawlinson G. 57, ff.1<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup> [K:350]; sec. xi<sup>ex</sup>. or xi/xii; unknown  
No glosses have been edited from the other two Anglo-Saxon copies of PSEUDO-CATO, *Disticha*:

- Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [G:12]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury StA

- London, British Library Vespasian D. vi, ff. 2–77 [G:389]; sec. x<sup>med</sup>. (or x<sup>2</sup>); Canterbury StA?

24 Cf. Ker (1957: nos. 89, art.2; 159, art. 4; 209, art. 3).

25 The other Anglo-Saxon MSS of PRUDENTIUS, *Dittochaeon* – all of them without any edited glosses to that particular text – are:

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 8085, ff. 2–82 [G:889.5]; sec. ix<sup>2/3</sup> or ix<sup>med</sup>; France, Loire region?

- Cambridge, CCC 223 [5/K:52]; sec. ix<sup>3/4</sup>; N France, Saint-Bertin?, Arras?

- Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 144/194 [G:120]; sec. x<sup>1</sup> (text incomplete); England?

- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 448 [G:114]; sec. x<sup>1</sup> or x<sup>med</sup>; S England or Worcester?

- Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 3. 6 [G:537]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; unknown

- Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [G:12]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury StA

- Durham, Cathedral Library B. IV. 9 [G:246]; sec. x<sup>med</sup>; unknown (prov. Durham)

- Oxford, Oriel College 3 [G:680]; sec. x<sup>ex</sup>; Canterbury CC

- Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 2. 14 [G:535]; sec. xi<sup>2</sup> or xi/xii; Sherborne?

There is a typing error in Gneuss's (2001: 177) index entry on PRUDENTIUS, *Dittochaeon*: <600> ought to read <680>, as the reference is to Oxford, Oriel College 3.

#### 6.4.4 Christian Poetry

By far the largest group of text types glossed in OE dry-point is made up of literary works by early Christian Poets. Among those, in turn, it is ALDHELM's works that were glossed most extensively in OE dry-point. ALDHELM's *Prosa de virginitate* (*Pdv*) has come down to us in 12 Anglo-Saxon MSS, all of which are glossed in OE. In 5 of them, only OE ink glosses have been detected so far. 6 of them feature both OE ink and OE dry-point glosses and from one of them, London, Lambeth Palace 200 [23/K:–], a single OE dry-point gloss has been edited so far.

- "Yale Fragment"	[24/K:12]	Sec. ix <sup>in</sup> . (viii <sup>ex</sup> ?)	Canterbury?, Worcester?
- Cambridge, CCC 326	[7/K:61]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Royal 5. E. xi	[19/K:252]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- London, Lambeth Palace 200	[23/K:–]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup>	Canterbury StA
- Oxford, Bodleian Digby 146	[27/K:320]	Sec. x <sup>ex</sup> .	Canterbury StA
- Salisbury, Cathedral 38	[31/K:378]	Sec. x <sup>ex</sup> .	Canterbury CC, StA?
- London, BL Royal 6 A. vi	[20/K:254]	Sec. x <sup>ex</sup> .	Canterbury CC

It is conspicuous that all seven MSS originate in Canterbury or have been associated with Canterbury. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that none of the five MSS of *Pdv* that do not feature OE dry-point glosses<sup>26</sup> are assigned to Canterbury. In three of the above MSS (Royal 6 A. vi. [20/K:254], Digby 146 [27/K:320] and

26 The other Anglo-Saxon MSS of *Prosa de virginitate* are:

- London, British Library Royal 6. B. vii [G:466]; sec. x<sup>ex</sup>; unknown (prov. Exeter)
- London, British Library Royal 5. F. iii [G:462]; sec. ix<sup>ex</sup> or ix/x; Mercia (Worcester?)
- London, British Library Royal 7. D. xxiv, ff. 62–168 [G:473]; sec. x<sup>1</sup>; S England (Wessex? Glastonbury?)

- Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 97 [G:545]; sec. xi<sup>in</sup>; unknown (prov. Canterbury CC)
- Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 1650 [G:806]; sec. xi<sup>in</sup>; Abingdon

From Gwara's (2001a: 94) comments it can be inferred that Gwara did not autopsy the Brussels MS [G:806]. Hence, that MS would certainly be a suitable candidate for further scrutiny.

Incidentally, the Bodleian MS [G:545] was placed next to Cambridge CCC 326 [7/K:61] in Canterbury, Christ Church's library, as can be deduced from their old Christ Church pressmarks *D. iia. G. iiiius*. [=CCC 326] and *D. iia. G. vus*. [=Bodley 97] (Gwara 2001a: 181).

Salisbury 38 [31/K:378]), *Pdv* is accompanied by ALDHELM's *Epistola ad Heahfridum*, which is provided with some OE ink glosses in the case of the Royal MS [20/K:254], but no dry-point glosses have been reported for the *Epistola* so far.

ALDHELM's *Carmen de virginitate*, a poetic "contrafactum" of *Pdv* (Lapidge 1999: 26), was a little less popular, if we may take the number of extant MSS as a benchmark: It is preserved in 5 Anglo-Saxon MSS (cf. Gneuss 2001: 151), all of which feature OE ink glosses. Two of them combine both OE ink and dry-point glosses:<sup>27</sup>

- Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 697	[28/K:349]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	NE France
- Cambridge, CCC 285	[6/K:54]	Sec. xi <sup>in</sup>	England

The Rawlinson MS [28/K:349] was in England by sec. x<sup>med</sup>, perhaps in Glastonbury. Following Napier's (1900) presentation, I list ALDHELM's *De octo vitiis principalibus* separately in the *Catalogue*. It can be argued, however, that it is not actually a text of its own, but rather a text couched within the text of the *Carmen de virginitate*, concerned with the characterization of the eight vices. Nonetheless, if we treat it as a separate entity from the point of view of glossing, we can say that in both MSS ALDHELM's *De octo vitiis principalibus* is glossed in OE both in ink and in dry-point.

PRUDENTIUS's *Psychomachia* is preserved in twelve Anglo-Saxon MSS (cf. Gneuss 2001: 177), half of them are glossed in OE, including two that are glossed both in OE ink and in OE dry-point:<sup>28</sup>

27 The other Anglo-Saxon *Carmen de virginitate* MSS are:

- Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [G:12]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury StA?
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 49 [G:542]; sec. x<sup>med</sup>; unknown (prov. Winchester, OM)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 5771 [G:584]; sec. x/xi; Canterbury CC

Some parts of the Cambridge MS [G:12] have been investigated very thoroughly by Wieland (1983); however, the pages of *Carmen de virginitate*, ff. 280<sup>r</sup>–327<sup>r</sup>, were not part of the investigation. Incidentally, all the glosses that we know from ALDHELM's *Carmen de virginitate* were collected by Napier (1900: 180–185 [nos. 14–18]), who also edited a glossary added in the margins of ff. 11<sup>r</sup>–19<sup>r</sup> in Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 2. 14 [K:295], compiled from glosses on *Carmen de virginitate*. Napier does not make any statements about the absence of dry-point glossing in these MSS, so it is not certain that they have ever been autopsied particularly with regard to dry-point glosses.

28 The other Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* MSS with OE ink glosses are:

- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 29031b [K:286]; sec. x<sup>in</sup>, fragment; unknown
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23, ff. 1–104 [K:31]; sec. x<sup>2</sup> or x<sup>ex</sup> or ix<sup>in</sup>; S England (Canterbury?)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 3. 6 [K:296]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; unknown (prov. Exeter)
- Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [K:16]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury StA?

- Cambridge, CCC 223	[5/K:52]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	N France, Saint-Bertin?, Arras?
- London, BL Cotton Cleop- atra C. viii	[16/K:145]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC

The Cotton MS [16/K:145] contains an unknown number of OE dry-point glosses, which were only reported by Napier (1900: xxi), but have not been edited, yet. The Corpus MS [5/K:52] features over 100 OE dry-point glosses in that text.

Another single OE dry-point gloss from another part of the same MS can be found in a copy of PRUDENTIUS's *Cathemerinon*. One single dry-point gloss to that text is also reported from the heavily glossed "Boulogne Prudentius" [2/K:7]:

- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun. 189	[2/K:7]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- Cambridge, CCC 223	[5/K:52]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	N France, Saint-Bertin?, Arras?

The Boulogne MS [2/K:7] is quite heavily glossed in OE ink. Meritt (1959) edits nearly 300 OE ink glosses from *Cathemerinon* alone. The Cambridge MS [5/K:52] only features 5 OE ink glosses to that text.<sup>29</sup>

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The Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* MSS without any reported OE glossing to *Psychomachia* are:

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 8085, ff. 2–82 [G:889.5]; sec. ix<sup>2/3</sup> or ix<sup>med.</sup>; France (Loire?)
  - Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 697 [28/K:349]; sec. ix<sup>3/4</sup>; NE France
  - Durham, Cathedral Library B. IV. 9 [G:246]; sec. x<sup>med.</sup>; unknown (prov. Durham)
  - Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 2. 51, Part 1 [G:191]; sec. x<sup>2</sup>; unknown
  - London, British Library Additional 24199, ff. 2–38 [G:285]; sec. xi<sup>2</sup> or xi/xii; unknown (prov. Bury St Edm.)
  - London, British Library Cotton Titus D. xvi, ff. 2–35 [G:379.5]; sec. xi/xii; St Albans
- The Rawlinson MS [28/K:349] features OE dry-point and ink glosses in other parts of the MS (Aldhelm). Wieland (1987), based on Gneuss (1981), only lists 10 MSS, as the Paris MS [G:889.5], which had not yet been associated with Anglo-Saxon England, and the Titus MS [G:379.5], which is a border case (post-dating the Anglo-Saxon times in the narrow sense), are not included in his list.

29 Other Anglo-Saxon MSS of PRUDENTIUS, *Cathemerinon* are:

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 8085, ff. 2–82 [K:7]; sec. ix<sup>2/3</sup> or ix<sup>med.</sup>; France (Loire?)
- Durham, Cathedral Library B. IV. 9 [K:52]; sec. x<sup>med.</sup>; unknown (prov. Durham)
- Oxford, Oriel College 3 [K:108]; sec. x<sup>ex.</sup>; Canterbury CC
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 3. 6 [K:358]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; unknown (prov. Exeter)

SEDULIUS, *Carmen paschale* is preserved in eight Anglo-Saxon copies, two of which are glossed in OE both in dry-point and in ink:

- Cambridge, CCC 173	[4/K:40]	Sec. viii <sup>2</sup>	S England, Kent?
- London, BL Royal 15 B. xix	[22/K:268]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup> or x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC

Four further copies of the same text are glossed in OE ink, which means that six of eight extant Anglo-Saxon copies of that text were furnished with OE glosses.<sup>30</sup>

BOETHIUS, *De consolacione philosophiae* is preserved in a number of Anglo-Saxon MSS. Gneuss (2001: 158) lists 17 (18?)<sup>31</sup> MSS in his index, of which three contain only fragments or excerpts. 93 OE dry-point glosses have been edited from one of them so far:

- Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21	[11/K:24]	Sec. x <sup>1</sup> or x <sup>med.</sup>	Abingdon(?)
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This MS also features two OE ink glosses. Ink glosses in OE are also known from four other Anglo-Saxon MSS; one of them even features a continuous gloss

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They all feature OE ink glosses to *Cathemerinon*, except the Auctarium MS [G:537], in which OE ink glosses have been edited from PRUDENTIUS, *Psychomachia* and *Peristephanon* only.

- 30 From the following copies of SEDULIUS, *Carmen paschale* OE ink glosses have been edited:  
 - Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. th. c. 4 [K:340]; sec. x<sup>1</sup>; Worcester?  
 - Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland 18.7.7 [K:111]; sec. x<sup>ex.</sup>; unknown (prov. Thorney)

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 8092 [K:425]; sec. xi<sup>2/4</sup>; England  
 - Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [K:16]; sec. xi<sup>med.</sup>; Canterbury StA?

From two further Anglo-Saxon copies of SEDULIUS, *Carmen paschale* no glosses have been edited so far:

- Évreux, Bibliothèque municipale 43 [G:824.5]; sec. x; England? (prov. Lyre, Normandy)  
 - Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 2410 [G:903]; sec. x<sup>ex.</sup>–xi<sup>ini.</sup>; Canterbury CC? (or StA?)

The OE ink glosses in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 8092 were only published in 1982 (cf. Lapidge 1982a; O'Neill 1989). Hence, it is conceivable that the other two MSS, which are located in repositories somewhat off the Anglo-Saxonists' beaten tracks, may have not been autopsied by an OE gloss scholar, yet.

- 31 Oddly, Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 3. 7 is catalogued but not indexed by Gneuss, even though it does also contain BOETHIUS, *De consolacione philosophiae* (cf. Gneuss 2001: 46 [no. 193] and "Trinity College Cambridge: Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts", s.v. "O.3.7" URL: <<http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/show.php?index=758>>). It must be an editorial oversight.



to some of its text.<sup>32</sup> Judging from the extant numbers of MSS, BOETHIUS' *De consolacione philosophiae* was a popular text in Anglo-Saxon times. It was also one of the texts that King Alfred thought to be so important that he translated it into OE. The text of his translation is known to us from two MS witnesses, one of which was burned badly in the Ashburnham Fire of 1731; the other is merely a fragment.<sup>33</sup>

#### 6.4.5 Canonical Literature

The so-called *Collectio Sanblasiana*,<sup>34</sup> preserved in Köln, EDDB 213 is exceptional, as it is the only Anglo-Saxon canonical collection that is glossed in OE dry-point. The dry-point glossing is very occasional, too, with one OHG, one L. and one OE dry-point gloss edited so far, but all of them must be quite ancient.

- Köln, EDDB 213	[14/K:98*]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Lindisfarne, Echternach?
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The Köln MS is the only Anglo-Saxon witness of that particular Canon Law collection.<sup>35</sup>

#### 6.4.6 Monastic and Hagiographical Literature

A relatively small number of texts glossed in OE dry-point is concerned with monastic or hagiographical contents.

32 The other glossed MSS of *De consolacione philosophiae* are:

- Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 1. 15 [K:294]; sec. x<sup>2</sup>; Canterbury StA
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 214 [K:51]; sec. x<sup>ex</sup> or xi<sup>in</sup>; Canterbury?
- Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [K:16]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury StA?
- Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 3. 7 [K:95\*]; sec. x<sup>2</sup> or x<sup>ex</sup>; Canterbury StA?

The Corpus MS [K:51] contains a continuous gloss on ff. 36<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup> and on f. 68<sup>v</sup>.

33 The OE text is edited and translated in Godden & Irvine (2012).

34 The *Collectio Sanblasiana* is named after St. Blasien in south-western Germany, in whose Benedictine monastery the principal MS witness of this collection of canonical texts (now St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek 7/1, sec. viii<sup>med</sup> or viii<sup>2</sup>) was preserved until AD 1807 (just like St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek 2/1 [33/K:-]).

35 In total seven MSS of the *Collectio Sanblasiana* are extant, but the others are not of Anglo-Saxon provenance; cf. Michael D. Elliott's Ph.D. project website "Anglo-Saxon Canon Law". URL: <<http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaellelliot/index.html>>.

- Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 30	[9/K:94]	Sec. x <sup>med</sup> .	Canterbury StA
- London, BL Royal 13 A. xv	[21/K:266]	Sec. x <sup>med</sup> .	Worcester?, Ramsey?
- Cambridge, CCC 57	[3/K:34]	Sec. x/xi	Abingdon, Canterbury CC?

Both Cambridge MSS contain a copy of ST BENEDICT's *Regula* and both these copies are occasionally glossed in OE ink. The *Benedictine Rule* was of great importance already before the Benedictine reform, at the height of which Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, translated it in about AD 970 at the request of King Edgar and Queen Ælfthryth.<sup>36</sup> L. copies of the *Regula* are preserved in 12 Anglo-Saxon MSS (including one fragment and a mere excerpt). OE glosses are known from four of them, however, only the copy preserved in the Trinity MS [9/K:94] is glossed in OE dry-point.<sup>37</sup>

Although no dry-point glosses have been edited from the Cambridge copy of the *Regula* [3/K:34], there is also a copy of SMARAGDUS's *Diadema monacho-*

36 The OE translation of the *Regula* is preserved in 8 Anglo-Saxon MSS, namely [K:41], [K:109], [K:117] (a fragment of Ch. 4), [K:154] (very late, sec. xii<sup>1</sup>), [K:186] (as a bilingual epitome of Ch. 4), [K:200], [K:353] and [K:395]. Several of them contain both the original L. and the OE translation: [K:41]=[G:55], [K:109]=[G:248], [K:186]=[G:363] (Ch. 4 only), [K:200]=[G:379], [K:353]=[G:672] and [K:395]=[G:757]; cf. Gretsche (1974: 126–127) for a detailed overview.

37 The other two L. copies of BENEDICT's *Regula* with OE glosses are:  
 - Oxford, Corpus Christi College 197 [K:353]; sec. x<sup>4/4</sup>; Worcester?  
 - London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii [K:186]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury, CC  
 4 OE ink glosses have been added to the L. text of the bilingual OCCC MS [K:353]=[G:672]. The Tiberius MS [K:186] contains, on the one hand, a copy of the text with a partial interlinear gloss and, on the other hand, a second partial copy of the text with an interlinear gloss. The L. text is also preserved without OE glosses in:  
 - Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 48 [G:631]; sec. vii<sup>ex</sup>, viii<sup>in</sup>, viii<sup>1</sup> or viii<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury, StA(?)  
 - Oxford, Bodleian Library Harley 5431, ff. 4–126 [G:440]; sec. x/xi, x<sup>2</sup> or x<sup>4/4</sup>; Canterbury, StA(?)  
 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 368 [G:101]; sec. x/xi (fragment); unknown  
 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 [G:55]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; Worcester(?)  
 - London, British Library Cotton Titus A. iv [G:379]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Winchester? Canterbury, StA?  
 - Wells, Wells Cathedral Library 7 [G:758]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup> (fragment); unknown  
 - Cambridge, University Library Ll. 1. 14 [G:29]; sec. xi<sup>2</sup> or xi<sup>ex</sup>; unknown  
 - Durham, Durham Cathedral B. IV. 24, ff. 74–127 [G: 248]; sec. xi<sup>2</sup> or xi/xii; unknown (prov. Durham)

The Durham MS [G:248]=[K:109] is only indexed as OE translation of the *REGULA* in Gneuss (cf. 2001: 156), but it is a bilingual copy of the text.

*rum* – a monastic handbook of sorts – contained in that MS and there are four OE dry-point glosses to that text. There are four extant L. Anglo-Saxon copies of SMARAGDUS's *Diadema monachorum*, but Cambridge, CCCC 57 [3/K:34] is the only copy of that text glossed in OE.<sup>38</sup>

The only saint's life glossed in OE dry-point can be found in FELIX OF CROWLAND's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* preserved in London, BL Royal 13 A. xv [21/K:266]. In total, 8 Anglo-Saxon MS witnesses preserve a L. copy of that text, four of which are glossed occasionally in OE ink.<sup>39</sup>

#### 6.4.7 Grammatical Treatises and Colloquies

OE dry-point glosses to grammatical texts are known from four MSS:

- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394	[32/K:A44]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Germany?
- St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2/1	[33/K:–]	Sec. viii, first half	N? England
- Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572	[26/K:313]	Sec. x <sup>2/4</sup>	Cornwall, Lannaled?
- Oxford, St John's College 154	[29/K:362]	Sec. xi <sup>in</sup> .	England

38 The other three Anglo-Saxon MSS of SMARAGDUS's *Diadema monachorum* are:

- Cambridge, University Library Ff. 4. 43 [G:8]; sec. x<sup>4/4</sup>; Canterbury CC
- Salisbury, Cathedral Library 12, ff. 1–56 [G:701.5]; sec. xi<sup>ex</sup>; Salisbury
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 17 [G:31]; sec. xi<sup>ex</sup> or xii<sup>in</sup>; England or France

39 OE ink glosses to the L. *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* are also edited from:

- London, British Library Royal 4. A. xiv ff. 107–108 [K:251]; sec. viii/ix–ix<sup>1</sup> (fragment); S England or Mercia
- London, British Library Cotton Nero E. i [K:29]; sec. xi<sup>3/4</sup>; Worcester
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 389 [K:66]; sec. x<sup>2</sup> or x<sup>3/4</sup> or x<sup>ex</sup>; Canterbury StA

The index entry <403> on FELIX OF CROWLAND, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* in Gneuss (2001: 164) ought to read <103>, as the reference is to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 389; the index entry for the Cotton MS (Gneuss 2001: 65 [no. 344]), on the other hand, is missing; Anglo-Saxon copies of the L. *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* without any reported OE glossing are preserved in:

- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 307, ff. 1–52 [G:88]; sec. x<sup>in</sup>; Worcester?
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale 106 [G:804]; sec. x/xi; unknown
- Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 1029 [G:781]; sec. x<sup>ex</sup> and xi<sup>in</sup>, text incomplete; unknown
- London, British Library Harley 3097 [G:434.5]; sec. xi/xii, text incomplete; unknown

ALDHELM's *Epistola ad Acircium* consists of several parts, one of which is a treatise on metre, commonly termed *De metris*, which is followed by ALDHELM's famous *Enigmata*, which serves "to illustrate the various metrical principles which he [i. e. Aldhelm] had been enunciating" (Lapidge & Rosier 1985: 11). The *Enigmata* (in English sometimes referred to as *Riddles*) are preserved in five Anglo-Saxon MSS and in one Anglo-Saxon fragment.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, the *Enigmata* are also preserved in a St. Gallen fragment [32/K:A44], which was abused as binding material as early as sec. ix in St. Gallen and which can only indirectly be linked with Anglo-Saxon England via the Anglo-Saxon missionary activities on the Continent; yet, it features OE dry-point glosses.

Another MS glossed in OE dry-point that must have reached the south of the German-speaking area at an early date is preserved in St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek 2/1 [33/K:–]. It contains three grammatical treatises, one of which is the only extant copy of a L. grammar composed by an anonymous Irish grammarian, who is usually referred to as ANONYMUS AD CUIMNANUM on account of a named dedicatee of that treatise, presumably a teacher of the ANONYMUS (Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992: vii). It contains dry-point glosses, at least one of which has been identified as OE, but there are other dry-point glosses that have not yet been deciphered (Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992: viii). The glosses must have been added in sec. viii, before the MS reached St. Blasien around AD 800, where it remained until the modern era.

Both Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 572 [26/K:313] and St John's College 154 [29/K:362] contain scholastic colloquies, some of which are glossed in OE dry-point. The St John's College MS contains ÆLFRIC BATA's *Colloquia* and his enlarged redaction of ÆLFRIC OF EYNHAM's *Colloquia*,<sup>41</sup> both of which are glossed in OE ink and dry-point. From ÆLFRIC BATA's *Colloquia difficiliora*, only OE ink glosses have

40 The following Anglo-Saxon MSS containing ALDHELM's *Enigmata* are glossed in OE ink:

- Cambridge, University Library Gg. 5. 35 [K:16]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury StA?
- London, British Library Royal 12. C. xxiii [K:259]; sec. x<sup>2</sup> or x/xi; Canterbury CC
- Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 697 [28/K:349]; sec. ix<sup>3/4</sup>; NE France
- London, British Library Royal 15. A. xvi [K:267]; sec. ix<sup>4/4</sup>; Canterbury StA

From two further Anglo-Saxon MSS containing ALDHELM's *Enigmata* no OE glosses have been edited so far:

- St Petersburg, National Library of Russia Q.v.I.15 [G:845]; sec. viii<sup>2</sup>; SW England
- Miskolc, Lévay József Library s.n. [G:850]; sec. viii (fragment); S England

41 ÆLFRIC OF EYNHAM's *Colloquia* are also preserved with an OE continuous gloss to the L. text in:

- London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii [K:186]; sec. xi<sup>med</sup>; Canterbury CC

The margins of the following two MS parts – formerly belonging to the same MS – also contain parts of ÆLFRIC's *Colloquia* (without any reported OE glossing):

- Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum M.16.2 [G:775]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; Abingdon? (prov. Abingdon, sec. xi<sup>1</sup>)

been edited so far. The Bodleian MS comprises a range of different texts and additions, among which the anonymous scholastic colloquy dubbed *De raris fabulis* is the only text that is glossed in OE, exclusively in dry-point. That text – which incidentally is also included without any edited vernacular glossing in the St John’s College MS [29/K:362] – also features some 140 Brittonic ink glosses. Some of the dry-point glosses in the Bodleian MS [26/K:313] were identified as Brittonic by the earlier literature (e.g. Craster 1923); however, more recent studies propose that all of the dry-point material is either OE or Latin (Falileyev & Russell 2003).<sup>42</sup>

6.4.8 Historical Writing

Two dry-point gloss MSS feature historical writings:

- Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65	[13/K:121*]	Sec. vi	N Italy
- London, BL Cotton Tiberius C. ii	[17/K:198]	Sec. ix <sup>2/4</sup> (viii <sup>ex?</sup> )	S England, Cantorb. StA?

The 6<sup>th</sup>-c. Kassel MS [13/K:121\*], the oldest OE dry-point gloss MS that we know of, contains the L. translation of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *De bello Iudaico*, which had originally been composed in Aramaic around AD 73, but has come down to us in a Greek version only (Broszinski & Heyne 1994: 22). The 4<sup>th</sup>-c. L. translation of it was wrongly ascribed to the early Christian author HEGESIPPUS from an early date on, based on the similarity of his name to “Josephus” (*ibid.*). The L. translation by PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS is also extant in three further Anglo-Saxon MSS, however, without any reported glossing, and they are of a much later date.<sup>43</sup>

The “Cotton Bede” [17/K:198] contains a copy of BEDA’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and is glossed quite extensively in OE dry-point: There are ca.

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- London, British Library Additional 32 246 [G:775]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; Abingdon? (prov. Abingdon, sec. xi<sup>1</sup>)  
For the collation of the interleaving Antwerp and Additional MS parts, cf. Förster (1917b: 97).

42 Other colloquies are also contained in the following two Anglo-Saxon MSS:  
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 865, ff. 89–96 [G:608]; sec. xi<sup>1</sup>; unknown (prov. Exeter)  
- Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale 236 [G:784]; sec. x/xi; unknown (prov. Mont Saint-Michel)  
No OE glosses have been reported from them so far.

43 Anglo-Saxon copies of PSEUDO-HEGESIPPUS, *De bello Iudaico* are preserved in:  
- London, British Library Royal 14. C. viii [G:487.5]; sec. xi<sup>ex</sup>; unknown  
- Durham, Cathedral Library B.II.1 [G:225.5]; sec. xi/xii; unknown (prov. Durham)  
- London, Lambeth Palace 173, ff. 1–156 [G:507]; sec. xi/xii; unknown (prov. Llanthony Secunda?)

400 OE dry-point glosses to the L. text and a handful of OE ink glosses to both the text and other L. additions. The glossing activity also resulted in the addition of four brief glossaries with OE interpretamenta in the same MS. In general, however, BEDA's *L. Historia* is only rarely glossed in OE. Of the more than 20 Anglo-Saxon MS witnesses (including fragments and excerpts), only another two MSS – one of which is a mere excerpt – show small amounts of glossing.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps, analogously to GREGORY's *Pastoral Care*, the availability of an OE translation since King Alfred's times, of which six copies and extracts are extant,<sup>45</sup> had an abating influence on (late) Anglo-Saxon vernacular glossing of the L. copies of the text.

## 6.5 Times and Places at Which Dry-Point Glossing May Have Been Practised

Despite the many gaps in our knowledge of OE dry-point glossing, it may still be interesting to look for patterns when it comes to the times and places at which dry-point glosses may have been entered in the MSS that have been identified up to now. In some cases, we can form at least partly educated guesses as to when and where dry-point glossing was practised. Indeed, we are inching forward on thin ice here, but there is no other data available at the moment, so we will have to do with what we have, hoping that the aggregation of factoids may form some kind of picture.

Palaeographical analyses give us reasonably firm footing when it comes to the origin of the MSS in question, but we often do not know anything about their Anglo-Saxon provenance. After all, the MSS may have travelled soon after their creation or they may have been kept nearby – used or simply stowed away for later use in the same institution where they had been produced. The predominantly chaotic dispersion of the historically-grown medieval MS collections after the *Suppression of Religious Houses Act* in 1539 caused many Anglo-Saxon MSS to turn up in private and institutional collections without determinable provenance. Hence, the next secure dating after their production is often the

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44 The other glossed Anglo-Saxon copies of BEDE's *Historia* besides the "Cotton Bede" [17/K:198] are:

- Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 163 [K:304]; sec. xi<sup>in</sup>; unknown (prov. Peterborough)
- London, Lambeth Palace Library 173, ff. 157–221 [K:276]; sec. xi/xii (text only in excerpt); unknown

The amount of glossing in both MSS is very small; the Lambeth excerpt of the *Vision of Drihthelm* (Ch. V, 12) features two short stretches of continuous OE glossing consisting of little more than a dozen interpretamenta (cf. Meritt 1945: 14 [no. 5]). The Oxford copy features no more than four OE ink glosses (cf. Napier 1900: 198 [no. 29]).

45 [K:23], [K:32], [K:151], [K:180], [K:351] and [K:354].

date of their surfacing in the early modern catalogues and reports. Intermediary accretions – such as glosses, scholia, names, pen trials or short texts copied into vacant spots of the codex in question – are often difficult to associate with a specific institution and their interpretation often leaves room for uncertainty. In the following lists, I simply assume (and arguably in some cases probably correctly) that the MSS for which there are no reports about their Anglo-Saxon provenance may have remained in their proposed places of origin, but there is no way to corroborate this at the moment. Dry-point glosses are usually not described palaeographically in the literature and they are never ascribed to a particular scriptorium or school. Therefore, the datings of the dry-point glosses are also culled from the literature with some serious doubts. Often editors do not explicitly date the dry-point glosses on palaeographical grounds themselves; instead, the dry-point material is dated implicitly on account of the neighbouring OE ink glosses, which may or may not represent the same or a related stratum. Yet again, there is nothing else to go on at the moment.

About one fifth of the OE dry-point gloss MSS can clearly be isolated from the other MSS on account of their ancient OE dry-point glosses dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. Within that group, a sub-group is likely to have never been in Anglo-Saxon England. Its OE glossing was probably added in a context where OE was spoken on the Continent. The assumption then is that they were all glossed in one of the Anglo-Saxon centres of learning on the Continent, in which OE must have played an important role in the early days of the missionary activities in Germany in early and mid-8<sup>th</sup> c.

- Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2	[1/K:287*]	Gl. sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	in Echternach
- Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2	[12/K:A41]	Gl. sec. viii	AS prov. unkn. (only Conti- nent?)
- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394	[32/K:A44]	Gl. (sec. viii?)	in AS centre in Germany?

Parts of the St. Gallen MS [32/K:A44] were used quite early (sec. ix<sup>med.</sup>) as pastedowns in the creation of other MSS in St. Gallen, so it is likely that the MS left the unspecified AS centre where it was created soon after the dry-point glosses had been added. The Augsburg MS [1/K:287\*], on the other hand, remained in Echternach until the dissolution of the religious institutions in connection with the French Revolution. If it was written there, too, as has been suggested in the literature, it may relatively safely be assumed that the OE dry-point glosses were added in Echternach. This is certainly the case for the OHG dry-point glosses in

the same MS. The whereabouts of the Fulda MS [12/K:A41] at the time of glossing are unknown. Its traditional association with St Boniface's martyrdom may indicate that the dry-point additions were made in a centre of the Anglo-Saxon mission on the Continent.

The eminently ancient "Kassel Hegesippus" [13/K:121\*] originated in 6<sup>th</sup>-c. Italy and was also glossed in OE dry-point during the 8<sup>th</sup> c. Whether the MS ever was in Anglo-Saxon England is uncertain.

- Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65	[13/K:121*]	Gl. sec. viii	AS prov. unknown
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CLA (8: 1139) cautiously states: "Came to Fulda presumably by way of England", before being displaced to Kassel in sec. xvii only. Ker (1957: 157), Wiedemann (1994: 96) and most other commentators take for granted that the emendations in Anglo-Saxon minuscule and the dry-point glosses must have been added in England. Bearing in mind that glossing in OE dry-point took place on the Continent, too, it is at least imaginable that the MS ended up in Fulda without taking the detour to England. The Anglo-Saxon dry-point runes on the casing were certainly only added in Fulda, as the characteristic casing itself is a typical piece of Fulda equipment (cf. Lehmann 1925: 13).

The "Würzburg Isidore" [13/K:121\*] can be safely said to have been produced in Anglo-Saxon England, presumably in Southern England, as is often stated in the literature.

- Würzburg, UB M. p. th. f. 79	[13/K:400]	Gl. sec. viii	AS prov. unknown
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Anglo-Saxon origin can be deduced from palaeographical (Anglo-Saxon minuscule script on f. 8<sup>v</sup>), art historical (initials) and codicological properties (ruling after folding) of the MS. The only strictly Southern feature, however, are the dry-point glosses (cf. Lowe 1960: 22), which show Mercian or Kentish characteristics (cf. Hofmann: 1963: 59–60). If we want to determine whether dry-point glossing was practised south of the Humber in 8<sup>th</sup>-c. England, however, it would be circular to take the Würzburg MS as evidence: What if the glosses were added only after the MS had reached the Continent? Our understanding that the MS reached Germany only in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. is also only based on the presence of the OE glosses, which are by default assumed to have been added in England. However, if the MS reached one of the Continental Anglo-Saxon missionary centres earlier in the same century, the dry-point glosses might have been added there. We need to identify other MSS whose dry-points glosses were



verifiably entered in 8<sup>th</sup>-c. England south of the Humber before we can address this issue again.

With Northumbrian 8<sup>th</sup>-c. dry-point glossing, the situation is quite similar. Northumbrian origin has been argued for two OE dry-point gloss MSS:

- Köln, EDDB 213	[14/K:98*]	Gl. sec. viii	in Lindisfarne? in Echternach?
- St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2/1	[33/K:–]	Gl. sec. viii	AS prov. unknown (N England?)

It is possible that the OE dry-point glossing was added while they were still in the North of England. Unfortunately, both MSS preserve so little linguistic material that no dialectological evidence can be adduced to a northern place of entry for the dry-point material. The preserved *i*-mutation OE  $\bar{o} > \bar{a}$  of the OE dry-point gloss *bræmgum* ‘boasting, clamorous (dat. pl.)’ in Köln, EDDB 213 [14/K:98\*] would go well with Anglian background (cf. Brunner 1965: 21), however, the gloss is dated so early that non-Anglian background cannot be ruled out, either. The absent palatal diphthongization of the OE dry-point gloss *scel* ‘scale’ (of snakes, in the context of VIRGIL, *Aeneid* 8, 436) in St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2/1 [33/K:–] would preclude West-Saxon background (cf. Brunner 1965: 63), but Kentish – as spoken in Canterbury, which was an important hub of the Continental mission – would still be a viable candidate. Since we do not know how the MS ended up on the Continent, any place on the route (including an Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent) may have been the place where dry-point glossing was practised. It would be of great help if the presence (or equally tellingly absence) of dry-point glossing could be ascertained in other early Northumbrian MSS to set these early specimens of glossing into perspective.

Surprisingly, no MS with OE dry-point glosses that were demonstrably added before the 10<sup>th</sup> c. has been identified so far in a British library. In fact, there is only one MS from a British repository securely ascribed to the 9<sup>th</sup> c. in our *Catalogue*, namely Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40], dated sec. viii<sup>2</sup>.

- Cambridge, CCC 173	[4/K:40]	Gl. (dry-point) sec. x	in Winchester?
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The glosses, however, are dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> c. only. The assumption that the MS might have been in Winchester at the time solely depends on the entry *Friðestan diaconus* prominently placed on the first folio of Part II of the codex (f. 57<sup>v</sup>).

A “Deacon Frithestan” is known as a witness in several Winchester charters. Budny (1997: 81) cautions, however, that even if the signature can be related to the same Frithestan, we still do not know whether this necessarily means that he signed his name in Winchester, as he could have added his name (why so ever) during a journey, too.

Two other OE dry-point gloss MSS, namely the “Cotton Bede” and the “Yale Fragment”, may reach back to the late 8<sup>th</sup> c., but the exact date is a matter of dispute and the MSS may in fact belong to the early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

- London, BL Cotton Tiberi- us C. ii	[17/K:198]	Gl. sec. x	AS prov. un- known (Kent?)
- “Yale Fragment”	[24/K:12]	Gl. sec. x <sup>med.-2</sup>	AS prov. un- known (Kent?)

In both cases, the dry-point glosses were probably not added before the 10<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, very little is known about the Anglo-Saxon provenance of both the “Cotton Bede” and the “Yale Fragment” and the Kentish traces in their dry-point glosses are the only clue as to where the MSS may have been at the time of glossing.

Another 8<sup>th</sup>-c. OE dry-point gloss MS whose OE dry-point glosses are also dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> c. is Paris, BN lat. 9561 [30/K:369].

- Paris, BN lat. 9561	[30/K:369]	Gl. sec. x	AS prov. un- known
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It probably originated in Southern England and received its OE dry-point glosses there, before it journeyed to the Continent at an unknown date.

To sum up: All the OE dry-point gloss MSS that already existed during the 9<sup>th</sup> c. either ended up on the Continent and/or did not receive their glossing in dry-point until the 10<sup>th</sup> c. Therefore, if we take the edited OE dry-point gloss evidence at face value, we have to conclude that dry-point glossing in OE was perhaps not practised in Anglo-Saxon England before the 10<sup>th</sup> c., as dry-point glossing in OE before the 10<sup>th</sup> c. is apparently restricted to MSS that are connected to the Anglo-Saxon mission on the Continent. These MSS all received their glossing during the 8<sup>th</sup> c., when the missionary activities were at their height.

46 Neither Meritt nor Ker venture to date the dry-point glosses of the “Cotton Bede” explicitly; Ker (1957: 261) states: “[a]ll the remaining OE [probably including the dry-point glosses] is probably of s. x” (Ker 1957: 261), and Meritt (1945: xi) is equally undetermined: “I think that none of the scratched glosses are later than the 10th c.”

As this state of affairs is difficult to understand, an alternative explanation ought to be falsified first: What if our knowledge of early dry-point glossing in Anglo-Saxon England is simply incomplete because the relevant MSS have not yet been searched for dry-point glosses? An observation that may lend this alternative hypothesis some credence can be made if we look at the history of the detection of the OE dry-point glosses in the Anglo-Saxon MSS prior to the 9<sup>th</sup> c. (cf. Table 3): All the early dry-point glosses reported from the Continental MSS were identified by Bernhard Bischoff.

<b>Manuscript produced prior to the 9<sup>th</sup> c.</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Discovery of OE dry-point glosses first reported by / in:</b>
Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2	[1 / K:287*]	Bischoff? (cf. <i>CLA</i> 8: 1215)
Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2	[12 / K:A41]	Bischoff (cf. Hofmann 1963: 56)
Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65	[13 / K:121*]	Bischoff (cf. Stach 1950: 14)
Köln, EDDB 213	[14 / K:98*]	Bischoff (cf. Stach 1950: 14)
Paris, BN lat. 9561	[30 / K:369]	Bischoff? (cf. <i>CLA</i> 5: 590)
St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394	[32 / K:A44]	Bischoff? (cf. <i>CLA</i> 7: 982)
St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2 / 1	[33 / K:–]	Bischoff (cf. Bischoff & Löfstedt 1992)
Würzburg, UB M. p. th. f. 79	[34 / K:400]	Bischoff (cf. Hofmann 1963: 27)
Cambridge, CCC 173	[4 / K:40]	Meritt (cf. Meritt 1936: 140)
“Yale Fragment”	[24 / K:12]	Napier (cf. Napier 1900: xxxiii, n. 2c)
London, BL Cotton Tiberius C. ii	[17 / K:198]	Plummer (cf. Plummer 1896: xciii)

Table 3: The OE dry-point gloss MSS prior to the 9th c. and their discovery.

When it comes to the reports first printed in *CLA*, I cannot adduce any evidence that it really was Bischoff who made the discovery because the articles in *CLA* are not explicitly attributed to individual researchers (hence the question marks in Table 3). My hunch is that Bischoff made these discoveries during his work for *CLA*, but I have not yet found a source that can confirm my suspicion. However, no other contributor to *CLA* has ever published on dry-point glosses, as far as I could establish. Bischoff, on the other hand, was acutely aware of the phenomenon of dry-point glossing and published two highly influential articles on the topic (Bischoff 1928 and 1937) during his early career. Both articles testify to the fact that he was a patient and thorough investigator who had an extraor-

dinary eye for dry-point writing. Moreover, in their reports both Stach (1950) and Hofmann (1963) directly and exclusively rely on the notes that Bischoff ceded to them for publication. Hofmann (1963), for instance, did not identify any of the OE dry-point MSS that he autopsied; both MSS from which dry-point glosses are first reported in his article had been pointed out to him by Bischoff. Hofmann could identify further dry-point glosses from both MSS, but the initial identification of the MS is to be attributed to Bischoff.

Additional, albeit circumstantial evidence comes from the fact that all the dry-point finds from MSS prior to the 9<sup>th</sup> c. preserved in English libraries had been identified before *CLA*, Volume 2 (concerned with the libraries in Great Britain and Ireland) was published in 1935. The dry-point glosses in Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40] were detected by H.D. Meritt in winter of 1933 and published in Meritt (1936).<sup>47</sup> Those in London, BL Cotton Tiberius C. ii [17/K:198] had been known since Plummer's (1896) edition of *BEDA, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and the dry-point glosses in the "Yale Fragment" [24/K:12] were passingly mentioned by Napier (1900) in a footnote. Bischoff was hired only in 1933 to help in the preparation of *CLA* and I suspect that the work on the MSS in the British libraries had already been completed to a great extent by that time. If so, the lack of reports of early dry-point gloss MSS preserved in English libraries might be due to the mere circumstance that Bischoff's extraordinary talent in spotting dry-point glosses was not applied to the Anglo-Saxon MSS there.

The conclusion has to be that Anglo-Saxon MSS prior to the 9<sup>th</sup> c. preserved in British libraries ought to be revisited specifically with dry-point glossing in mind. Perhaps the restricted visibility of dry-point glosses causes a misbalance in our corpus: The eight MSS that Bischoff identified in eight different Continental libraries, all reach back to the 8<sup>th</sup> c. or earlier. There is not nearly as much evidence from British libraries and the publication of findings and (equally importantly) explicit non-findings in British MSS would complete our picture of OE dry-point glossing quite significantly.

The majority of dry-point glossing that we know of is dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> c. and the institution that is quoted most often by a margin is Canterbury, Christ Church. For one of the MSS, Cambridge, CCC 326 [7/K:61], it even seems possible to identify Canterbury, Christ Church as the place where the OE dry-point glossing took place.

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47 Meritt (1936: 140) does not explicitly state whether he had actually discovered the dry-point glosses in Cambridge CCC 173 [4/K:40], when he worked on the MS in 1933. *CLA* (2: 123) published their report about the same dry-point glosses in 1935, and it is possible that Lowe and his team had discovered them independently of Meritt.

- Cambridge, CCC 326	[7/K:61]	Gl. sec. x–xi <sup>in</sup>	in Canterbury CC(!)
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The MS was produced there (Bishop 1963b: 421 [no. 24]) and an ancient shelf-mark on f. ii<sup>r</sup> testifies to its placement in that institution's library. It probably remained there until the institution was dissolved in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Around that time it passed into the possession of Matthew Parker who gave it to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge in 1575 (cf. Budny 1997: 248–249), where it remains to this day. If the MS was produced in Canterbury, Christ Church and remained there throughout the Middle Ages, it is highly likely that the OE dry-point glosses were added there, too.

All in all, about 10 MSS may have received their dry-point glossing in 10<sup>th</sup>-c. or 11<sup>th</sup>-c. Canterbury:

- London, BL Cotton Cleop- atra C. viii	[16/K:145]	Gl. sec. x <sup>1</sup>	in Canterbury CC?
- London, BL Royal 15 B. xix	[22/K:268]	Gl. sec. x <sup>1</sup>	in Canterbury CC?
- London, BL Royal 6 A. vi	[20/K:254]	Gl. sec. x <sup>ex.</sup> –xi <sup>1</sup>	in Canterbury CC?
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun. 189	[2/K:7]	Gl. sec. xi <sup>in.-1</sup>	in Canterbury CC?
- London, BL Royal 5. E. xi	[19/K:252]	Gl. sec. xi <sup>in.-med.</sup>	in Canterbury CC?
- Cambridge, Trinity Col- lege O. 2. 31	[10/K:95]	Gl. sec. xi <sup>med.</sup>	in Canterbury CC?
- Salisbury, Cathedral 38	[31/K:378]	Gl. sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	in Canterbury CC or StA
- Cambridge, Trinity Col- lege O. 2. 30	[9/K:94]	Gl. sec. xi	in Canterbury StA?
- London, Lambeth Palace 200	[23/K:–]	Gl.?	in Canterbury StA?

Even though it is likely that at least some of the proposed Canterbury origins (and hence proposed provenances) will not be confirmed by future research, Canterbury would still appear to have been a centre of OE dry-point glossing activity around that time.

Abingdon is named in connection with three OE dry-point gloss MSS. Cambridge, CCC 57 [3/K:34] features additions and obits of sec. xi that can be associated with it. The dry-point glossing was added about the same time.

- Cambridge, CCC 57	[3/K:34]	Gl. sec. xi <sup>1</sup>	in Abingdon?
- Oxford, Bodleian Digby 146	[27/K:320]	Gl. sec. x <sup>ex.</sup> –xi <sup>med.</sup>	in Abingdon?
- Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21	[11/K:24]	Gl. sec. xi	in Abingdon?

The Oxford MS [27/K:320] is assumed to have been in Abingdon around sec. xi<sup>med.</sup>, when a large number of ink glosses was copied into it verbatim from Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650 (cf. Ker 1957: 6). Around that time, the dry-point glossing was added, too. Additions of personal and place names associated with Abingdon may also point to an Abingdon provenance for Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21 [11/K:24]. Even if the attribution to Abingdon cannot be secured in connection with the dry-point glossing per se, Abingdon still appears to be a possible centre of dry-point glossing activity around AD 1000.

The “Thorney Gospels” [15/K:131], produced in France, were used in Thorney as a *liber vitae* around AD 1100.

- London, BL Additional 40 000	[15/K:131]	Gl. sec. x <sup>1</sup>	in Thorney?
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The OE dry-point glossing was added about two generations before that, yet, the MS may possibly have been in Thorney around that time already.

Two OE dry-point gloss MSS can be associated with Glastonbury, one of the centres of the Benedictine Reform:

- Oxford, Bodleian Rawlin- son C. 697	[28/K:349]	Gl. sec. x <sup>med.</sup>	in Glastonbury?
- Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 572	[26/K:313]	Gl. sec. x	in Glastonbury?

In both cases, the link is not very strong, however, and mainly based on circumstantial evidence.

Finally, for a group of seven MSS glossed in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> c., there is no information available as to where they might have been held during that time:

- London, BL Cotton Vespa- sian D. xiv	[18/K:210]	Gl. sec. x <sup>1</sup>	AS prov. un- known
- London, BL Royal 13 A. xv	[21/K:266]	Gl. sec. x <sup>1</sup>	AS prov. un- known
- Oxford, Bodleian Auctari- um D. 5. 3	[25/K:293]	Gl. sec. x	AS prov. un- known
- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 45–1980	[8/K:7*]	Gl. sec. x, late	AS prov. un- known
- Cambridge, CCC 223	[5/K:52]	Gl. sec. x–xi	AS prov. un- known
- Oxford, St John's College 154	[29/K:362]	Gl. sec. xi <sup>in</sup> .	AS prov. un- known
- Cambridge, CCC 285	[6/K:54]	Gl. sec. xi	AS prov. un- known

It may well be that even further research into these MSS would not yield results with respect to their provenance. Nonetheless, as far as I could establish no detailed analyses of the dry-point gloss material have been carried out so far, hence further work on these MSS may well yield new insights.

## 6.6 Co-Occurrence with Vernacular Ink Glosses

When we look for patterns in the co-occurrence of vernacular ink and pencil glosses in the MSS of our corpus of OE dry-point gloss MSS, there is a striking geographical correlation. MSS preserved on the Continent clearly more often tend to be glossed vernacularly in dry-point only than MSS preserved in British libraries. Only 10 OE dry-point gloss MSS do not feature vernacular ink glossing.<sup>48</sup>

- Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2	[1/K:287*]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Echternach, Northumbria?
- Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2	[12/K:A41]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Luxeuil, Mainz?
- Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65	[13/K:121*]	Sec. vi	N Italy

48 Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 572 [26/K:313] has no OE ink glosses, but Brittonic ink glosses (see below).

- Köln, EDDB 213	[14/K:98*]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Lindisfarne, Echternach?
- London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv	[18/K:210]	Sec. ix <sup>1/4</sup>	N or NE France
- London, Lambeth Palace 200	[23/K:–]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup>	Canterbury StA
- Paris, BN lat. 9561	[30/K:369]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup> or viii <sup>med</sup> .	S England
- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394	[32/K:A44]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup> .	Germany?
- St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2/1	[33/K:–]	Sec. viii, first half	N? England
- Würzburg, UB M. p. th. f. 79	[34/K:400]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	S England

These MSS do clearly not form a representative sample of our *Catalogue* of OE dry-point MSS, as their Continental whereabouts are not their only shared property: Eight of them were produced sec. viii or earlier and the dry-point glosses in them were all identified by Bernhard Bischoff.<sup>49</sup> The conclusion has to be, then, that our sample is skewed also in this respect.

Only two OE dry-point gloss MSS have been identified in British Libraries that do not feature vernacular ink glosses, too: London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, ff. 170–224 [18/K:210] and London, Lambeth Palace 200 [23/K:–]. The former was identified by its librarians Thomson & Warner, both palaeographers and librarians at the British Museum, who report the dry-point glosses in their (1884) catalogue of the early MSS in the British Museum. London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv is well-known to Anglo-Saxonists for the first part of the codex, which contains a collection of Ælfric's Homilies (ff. 4–169 [K:209]). Thompson & Warner (1884) do not specify how they discovered the dry-point glosses; their catalogue simply states: "A few English glosses of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. (see f. 172<sup>v</sup>) are interlined with a hard point" (Thompson & Warner 1884: 52). There are no OE ink glosses that would have put this part of the MS forward for closer inspection. Perhaps, one of the librarians chanced upon the dry-point material by accident or a previous discovery had been communicated to them in some form, such as a hand-written note, oral communication or an unpublished catalogue.

The Lambeth MS [23/K:–] was identified as an OE dry-point gloss MS by the Anglo-Saxonist gloss scholar Scott Gwara. He had autopsied a number of

49 Cf. overview of dry-point glosses identified by Bischoff on p. 233.



Anglo-Saxon MSS that contain ALDHELM, *Prosa de virginitate* in search for L. and OE glosses. The Lambeth MS does not have OE ink glosses, either, but since Gwara was interested in L. glosses as well, he seems to have autopsied the MS repeatedly over several years, until he eventually must have spotted the OE dry-point gloss sometime between 1997 and 1999, after having worked on the MS at least since the late 1980s (cf. above p. 118). The Lambeth MS may serve as an example that the search for dry-point glosses is in most cases a cumulative process that must not be regarded as completed once an edition is published. At the moment and for the foreseeable future, there is no way of establishing conclusively that a MS does not contain further dry-point material.

I suspect that the remaining 24 MSS, which do not only feature vernacular dry-point glosses, but also – and more conspicuously – vernacular ink glosses, were singled out for closer inspection by palaeographers and glossographers due to the presence of the ink glosses.<sup>50</sup> The fact that eight OE dry-point-only gloss MSS have been identified on the Continent, but only two in Great Britain seems suspicious after all. It would be highly interesting to ascertain the precise amount of time that Bischoff spent in British libraries and to trace the itinerary of libraries that he visited in that very productive phase before World War II. As I pointed out above, I suspect that Bischoff's main focus lay on the Continent and his absence from the main part of the work on *CLA*, Volume 2 may have seriously and lastingly affected our understanding of OE dry-point glossing up to and including now. I also think that British MSS have probably never been searched for dry-point material systematically. Mainly MSS that were known to feature vernacular ink glosses were autopsied with regard to dry-point glosses. And even among this group of MSS, new dry-point gloss MSS may be identified even now; this is what happened with London, BL Royal 15 B. xix [22/K:268], whose ink glosses had been edited in Meritt (1945), but whose dry-point glosses went unnoticed for another 50 years.

I cannot offer any generalizations about the functional co-existence of OE dry-point and ink glosses at the moment, as this would require detailed autopsies for each OE dry-point gloss MS in turn. I can merely highlight some extremes here to show the outlines of that co-existence. Only intermittent occurrence of dry-point glosses among large numbers of OE ink glosses can be found in London, BL Royal 6 A. vi [20/K:254], where one single OE dry-point gloss is edited in a MS that has more than 400 OE ink glosses. In Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun. 189 [2/K:7] a single dry-point gloss is surrounded by more than 1,000 OE

50 As far as I can see, there is no technical term for “MS that only contains vernacular dry-point glosses, but no vernacular ink glosses” currently used in the English-speaking literature; German scholarly usage is “‘reine’ Griffelglossenhandschriften”, i.e. “pure” dry-point gloss MSS”. I shall refer to them as “dry-point-only gloss MSS”.

ink glosses; and Oxford, Bodleian Digby 146 [27/K:320] features more than 5,500 OE ink glosses, but only 2 OE dry-point glosses have been edited from it so far. The other extreme is represented by MSS such as Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40] or Cambridge, CCC 326 [7/K:61], in which OE ink glosses are outnumbered by OE dry-point glosses by more than 6:1. In some cases, the same L. lemma is glossed both in OE ink and OE dry-point and in some cases there is even a L. lemma that is glossed twice with the same OE interpretamentum, once in OE ink and in OE dry-point each (cf. Meritt 1945: 30 [gloss 74]). In that configuration we may safely assume that the dry-point gloss must pre-date the ink gloss, because it does not seem plausible that a glossator would add a dry-point gloss if the ink gloss was already in the MS. However, it does not necessarily imply that the second (ink) glossator did not see the dry-point gloss, as he may have entered the ink glosses with the aim of confirming the dry-point gloss.

The “Yale Fragment” [24/K:12] is the only OE dry-point gloss MS for which the dry-point glosses and the ink glosses are dated separately in the literature. Rusche (1994: 197) distinguishes 6 dry-point gloss hands, which he dates sec.  $x^{\text{med.}}-x^2$ . Gwara (2001a: 92) distinguishes two main hands responsible for the ink glosses and dates them sec. xi<sup>1</sup>. If these datings are correct, the dry-point glosses pre-date the ink gloss in this MS by a margin.<sup>51</sup> I do not think that generalizations ought to be derived from this singular observation, however. Quite to the contrary, it is important that each MS witness is analysed independently.

## 6.7 Co-Occurrence with Other Vernaculars

### 6.7.1 Co-Occurrence with Old High German Dry-Point Glosses

Out of the 34 MSS of our *Catalogue*, five MSS (≈15 %) feature both OE and OHG dry-point glosses:

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51 It is puzzling that Gwara (2001a) does neither discuss nor acknowledge Rusche’s (1994) datings. Instead, he concludes even more puzzlingly: “HAND 1 [writing glosses in ink] appears throughout the volume, whereas HAND 2 [also writing glosses in ink] is concentrated only on fols. 3–8. Glosses in both hands do not occur above the same lemma, and it is consequently impossible to establish the relative chronology. Whether the scratched glosses preceded the inked glosses in HAND 1 cannot be known, but this is not likely for the same reason.” I cannot make sense of the wording of Gwara’s concluding sentence: “this [i. e. the proposition that dry-point glosses were entered before the ink glosses in HAND 1] is not likely for the same reason [i. e. the observation that glosses in both dry-point and ink do not occur above the same lemma(?)].”

- Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2	[1/K:287*]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Echternach, Northumbria?
- Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2	[12/K:A41]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	Luxeuil, Mainz?
- Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65	[13/K:121*]	Sec. vi	N Italy
- Köln, EDDB 213	[14/K:98*]	Sec. viii <sup>in</sup>	Lindisfarne, Echternach?
- Würzburg, UB M. p. th. f. 79	[34/K:400]	Sec. viii <sup>1</sup>	S England

The five MSS are all quite ancient, dating from the first half of the eighth c. or earlier. It is not quite certain to what extent we can group the MSS together, but some noteworthy parallels can be observed. For instance, they were all glossed in OE dry-point during the 8<sup>th</sup> c. The Kassel MS, the Köln MS and the Würzburg MS are assumed to have been in England around that time, so the OE dry-point glosses may have been entered there. For both the Augsburg and the Fulda MS, there are doubts about their origin and early provenance. The Augsburg MS may have been produced in Lindisfarne, but the literature generally is in favour of an Echternach origin. The Fulda MS was probably produced in Luxeuil or a centre closely associated with it, such as Mainz, and it is possible that the MS never left the Continent and received its OE glossing in a centre of the Anglo-Saxon mission on the Continent.

It is quite certain that all five MSS must have been associated with the Anglo-Saxon missionary activities in Germany – spearheaded by the Northumbrian Wilfrid in the 670s in Frisia and later brought to fruition in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. by his pupil Willibrord (later named Clemens), “the Apostle of the Frisians”, and by the West Saxon Wynfrith (later named Boniface), “the Apostle of the Germans”. The Fulda MS [12/K:A41] has even been directly associated with St Boniface, ever since the cuts on the MS’s cover were interpreted as sword cuts connected with his martyrdom. OTLOH OF ST. EMMERAM, *Vita Bonifatii* (written in the 11<sup>th</sup> c.) relates that St Boniface tried to shield his head from vicious sword blows of a Frisian mob by holding a book of Gospels above his head.<sup>52</sup> Quite unproverbially, however, the Frisian swords turned out to be mightier than what the pen had created and St Boniface died, together with a large number of companions on 5 June 754 in Frisia. There is no medieval evidence that Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2 [12/K:A41] should be considered to be that impractical shielding device (cf. Jakobi-Mirwald 1993: 18). Moreover, it does not fit OTLOH’s descriptions, as it contains a collection of dogmatic writings and creeds, but no Gospels.

52 Otloh calls it “sancti euangelii liber” (Levison 1905: 211).

The beginnings of OHG glossing have long been suspected in the context of the Anglo-Saxon mission, which flourished in Anglo-Saxon centres, such as Echternach (monastery established in AD 698), Würzburg, Erfurt (both bishoprics established in AD 742), Fulda (monastery founded by Boniface in AD 744) and Mainz (of which Boniface became bishop around AD 745).<sup>53</sup> Bergmann (1983), after analysing the OHG gloss MSS of the 8<sup>th</sup> c., concludes:

Der nach der Quantität und geographischen Verteilung unerwartet aussagekräftige Befund der vorliegenden Untersuchung zeigt vor allem in den ältesten Zeugnissen einen ganz eindeutigen Zusammenhang mit der angelsächsischen Mission. Das Auftreten althochdeutscher Glossen folgt geradezu und unmittelbar dem Auftreten der angelsächsischen Missionare und darf als Teil ihres Einflusses auf die kontinentale Schriftkultur angesehen werden. (Bergmann 1983: 40)<sup>54</sup>

The OHG dry-point glosses in all five OE dry-point MSS are very early, dated from between the mid-8<sup>th</sup> c. to the turn of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> c. Early OHG literacy predominantly consists of dry-point glossing, with the dry-point glosses in the “Augsburg Gospels” [1/K:287\*] representing some of the oldest documented specimens of OHG writing in the MS context (cf. Schroeder 1979b: 397; Glaser & Nievergelt 2004: 119).

As I pointed out above, it is worth noting that nearly all early OE dry-point gloss MSS have been identified by the German palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff. It remains to be seen whether our knowledge of early OE dry-point glossing is limited to so many MSS connected with the Anglo-Saxon mission on the Continent because the missionary milieu was especially favourably inclined towards dry-point glossing or whether our view of the subject is skewed by the imbalance of research in this field. If glossing really was a cultural importation to early medieval Germany from Anglo-Saxon England, mediated through the Anglo-Saxon mission, and this earliest stratum of glossing is mainly recorded in dry-point, one may wonder why there is not more evidence of early OE glossing recorded from MSS extant in British repositories. After all, in order to make dry-point glossing a cultural export, dry-point glossing must have been practised wherever the Anglo-Saxon missionaries came from.

53 Cf. Thoma (1958: 583); *BMS* (3: 75, n. 3).

54 I.e. ‘Both with respect to quantity and geographic distribution, the result of the present study demonstrates convincingly that there is a clear connection with the Anglo-Saxon mission, especially when it comes to the most ancient testimonies. The appearance of OHG glosses is a downright and immediate result of the appearance of Anglo-Saxon missionaries and it may be seen as part of their influence on Continental literacy.’

### 6.7.2 Co-Occurrence with Celtic Dry-Point Glosses

Following Craster's (1923) edition of the dry-point glosses in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 572, ff. 1–50, [26/K:313] of which he identified two glosses as Brittonic, there seemed to be a link between OE dry-point glossing and Brittonic dry-point glossing in that MS. Falileyev & Russell (2003: 96–97), however, do not confirm Craster's interpretation of the presumably Brittonic dry-point material. On the one hand, they interpret Craster's gloss *lo* to L. *podī* 'monastery, monastery lands[?]' as a merograph *lo-* of L. *loci* (gen. sg. of *locus* 'place'). On the other hand, where Craster reads *gili* glossing L. *secalium* 'a kind of grain, rye, black spelt', they decipher *gilb* (though they cannot provide a definitive reading for the last letter) and argue in favour of OE background, perhaps *gilp* 'powder, dust' or *gilm* 'a yelm, a handful of reaped corn'. In both cases, their argumentation is not particularly convincing, though, and their conclusion that "of the two possible Brittonic dry-point glosses in this MS one is almost certainly Latin, and the Brittonic character of the other is open to serious doubt" cannot be considered a final assessment (Falileyev & Russell 2003: 97). Then again, the problems may never be resolved, as there are no simple solutions to the conundrum posed by these two dry-point glosses. Perhaps the issue may be re-addressed once our understanding of Celtic dry-point glossing practices is more complete.

Even if there may be no Brittonic dry-point glosses in Bodley 572 [26/K:313], there is a link between OE and Brittonic glossing in that MS, nonetheless, since the text *De raris fabulis*, which is glossed with 7 (perhaps 8 or more) OE dry-point glosses is also glossed with about 140 Brittonic ink glosses. The MS is dated to the second quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. and Craster (1923) reports that the Brittonic ink glosses are written by the same scribe as the text itself, so they must date from that period, too. Craster (1923: 136) also suggests that the dry-point glosses were added after the ink glosses, but it is not clear to me on what palaeographical grounds this comment is made. Presumably, he concludes this from the above observation, assuming that the ink glosses were incorporated into the MS at the same time or soon after the MS itself was written, hence they would have to pre-date the dry-point additions.

At the moment, it is not possible to construct a link between the very early OIr practice of dry-point glossing, attested from the 7<sup>th</sup> c., and the OE practice of dry-point glossing, attested from the early 8<sup>th</sup> c. on the Continent. Glaser & Nievergelt (2004: 131) surmise that dry-point glossing may have been introduced to the Continent as a typically Insular practice:

Die bereits früher geäußerte Vermutung, dass die Gewohnheit der Glossierung mit dem Griffel grundsätzlich von den britischen Inseln mitgebracht worden sein könnte, hat weitere Bestätigung durch die irischen Griffelglossen erfahren, die P. O Néill als

möglicherweise sogar noch aus dem 7. Jh. stammend identifiziert hat. Es bestätigt sich hier im Bereich der Schreibtechnik, was mittlerweile grundsätzlich für die althochdeutsche Glossierung festgehalten werden kann, nämlich dass sie in der Folge der angelsächsisch-irischen Missionstätigkeit eingesetzt und dass damit das althochdeutsche Schrifttum wohl auch hierin seine Wurzeln hat. (Glaser & Nievergelt 2004: 131)<sup>55</sup>

Even if the introduction of dry-point glossing to the Continent really was accomplished by the missionaries from both England and Ireland, it is not clear to what extent the practice of dry-point glossing should be considered to be a typically Insular practice before the 10<sup>th</sup> c. Our picture of OIr dry-point glossing is very patchy and our picture of early OE dry-point glossing is practically limited to the testimony of the Continental MSS. If dry-point glossing really was practised in England and Ireland from an early date, there would have to be some tangible evidence of it. The three OIr dry-point glosses in the Codex Usserianus Primus, however, are the only early Insular dry-point glosses that are not directly linked with the missionary activities on the Continent.

### 6.7.3 Co-Occurrence with an Old French Dry-Point Gloss?

Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 2. 31 [10/K:95] may present a case of OF and OE dry-point glossing united in the same MS, but it would appear that further research is necessary to corroborate this record. The MS definitely unites OE and OF glossing, but it is distributed unevenly across the three different texts in the MS that are glossed in a vernacular:

- i. PROSPER, *Epigrammata* on ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>v</sup>, is glossed in both OE ink (28 glosses, distributed over more than a dozen pages), OE dry-point (12 or more<sup>56</sup> glosses, distributed over half a dozen pages) and OF ink (3? glosses, all on f. 33<sup>r</sup>, dated sec. xii in Ker 1957: 137).
- ii. PSEUDO-CATO, *Disticha Catonis*, ff. 34<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>, is glossed in both OE ink (1 gloss, f. 40<sup>r</sup>) and OE dry-point (1 gloss, f. 34<sup>r</sup>).
- iii. PRUDENTIUS, *Dittochaeon (Tituli historiarum)*, ff. 44<sup>r</sup>–49<sup>v</sup>, is glossed by one single dry-point gloss OF(?) *catel* to L. *gregis* ‘of the flock’, on f. 47<sup>r</sup>, l. 25.

55 I.e. ‘The long-standing assumption that in principle the practice of glossing by means of the stylus may have been introduced from the British Isles has received further corroboration through the Irish dry-point glosses, which P. O Néill identified as possibly going back to the 7th c. In the area of writing technique we thus find confirmation for what can by now be maintained for OHG glossing in general, namely that it [i.e. the technique of writing in dry-point] begins in the wake of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionary activities and that writing in OHG arguably has its origin here, too.’

56 Page (1981a: 108) observes that there must have been more dry-point glosses, but an unspecified number of them is now indecipherable.

Whether the single edited dry-point gloss from PRUDENTIUS, *Dittochaeon* can really be said to be an OF dry-point gloss is not certain. On the one hand, the fact that no other OF dry-point glosses are recorded from this MS speaks in favour of OE. On the other hand, OE \**catel* is not attested in any other OE source and ME *catel* meaning ‘live stock’ is only attested much later, namely from sec. xiv (*OED* s. v. “cattle” II.4.a; *MED* s. v. “catēl” 2). From the point of view of lexicography OF linguistic background is therefore more likely just now. From the point of view of glossography it can be argued, however, that no stylus activity in French is known from that particular MS, whereas several OE dry-point glosses have been edited. Moreover, the French glossing in ink is restricted to one folio, whereas the OE glossing was demonstrably more extensive. There is no easy way out of this uncertainty, except for a reappraisal of the MS evidence: I am quite confident that further dry-point glosses will eventually be deciphered from this part of the MS.<sup>57</sup> Should they turn out to be exclusively OE, we could confidently reject the notion that *catel* is OF and we must pre-date the first occurrence of *catel* to the late OE period, instead.

## 6.8 Co-Occurrence with Construe Marks

Ten of the 34 OE dry-point gloss MSS that we identified also feature construe marks in ink (cf. Korhammer 1980: 55–58):

- Cambridge, CCC 173	[4/K:40]	Sec. viii <sup>2</sup>	S England, Kent?
- Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 697	[28/K:349]	Sec. ix <sup>3/4</sup>	NE France
- London, BL Royal 15 B. xix	[22/K:268]	Sec. x <sup>2</sup> or x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Royal 6 A. vi	[20/K:254]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury CC
- Oxford, Bodleian Digby 146	[27/K:320]	Sec. x <sup>ex.</sup>	Canterbury StA
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun. 189	[2/K:7]	Sec. x / xi	Canterbury CC
- Cambridge, CCC 326	[7/K:61]	Sec. x / xi	Canterbury CC

57 The online facsimile of Cambridge, Trinity College Library O. 2. 31 [10/K:95] provided on the website of Trinity College, Cambridge shows further dry-point traces on f. 47<sup>r</sup> and elsewhere, cf. p. 128.

- London, BL Cotton Cleop- atra C. viii	[16/K:145]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- London, BL Royal 5. E. xi	[19/K:252]	Sec. x/xi	Canterbury CC
- Cambridge, CCC 285	[6/K:54]	Sec. xi <sup>in</sup> .	England

If we consider the respective base texts, it becomes apparent, though, that they can be related to just three authors – ALDHELM (6 MSS), PRUDENTIUS (3 MSS) and SEDULIUS (2 MSS) – who all enjoyed great attention in the Anglo-Saxon monastic literary canon. It can be argued then that in these cases, the increased interest that these texts generated manifested itself in both dry-point glossing and the addition of construe mark. In Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale 189 [2/K:7], whose f. 7<sup>r</sup> shows the notation L. *signa hic constructionem* ‘enter [syntactic] construction [=construe marks] here’, we can even get a glimpse of how construe marks were presumably used in teaching:

In response to this request an Anglo-Saxon glossator (possibly the same man who provided the many Old English lexical glosses which appear throughout this manuscript) has used letters of the alphabet along with a system of dots and strokes to show how the words of Prudentius’s involuted sentence should be rearranged so as to bring them into conformity with straightforward Old English word order. (Robinson 1973: 443–444)

It is intriguing to think that we can catch a glimpse of the daily teaching routine in an Anglo-Saxon grammar school. This is the only instance of syntax lettering in this particular MS, however, so one may wonder whether this is evidence of a one-off exercise rather than of a systematic teaching method.

I did not find any reports of dry-point construe marks in the Anglo-Saxonist secondary literature. Although it is conceivable that dry-point writing was not used at all in connection with construe marks, it may just as well be the case that they have simply gone unnoticed so far. Individual letters, strokes and dots entered without ink are even less conspicuous than dry-point glosses, which usually consist of several letters, and hence their chance of being detected by coincidence may be even further reduced. Individual tokens of such dry-point construe marks may even have been noticed by individual scholars, but due to the difficult visibility of dry-point writing their systematic nature will not become apparent as easily as with ink construe marks and hence may have been ignored time and again.



## 7. Summary and Outlook

### 7.1 Identifying Further Dry-Point Glosses and Dry-Point Gloss Manuscripts

As I have tried to show, the visual difficulties presented by dry-point writing have a negative effect on the study of OE dry-point glosses. Unlike OE ink glosses, which stand a good chance of being detected once an interested researcher autopsies the right MS, dry-point glosses may be overlooked repeatedly, and even after being recognized for what they are, their edition requires more effort than that of ink glosses.

First of all, potential dry-point gloss discoverers must be able to see the scratches or simple grooves in the MS surface that constitute the dry-point writing. As was pointed out above, this is not always possible for practical reasons. If the lighting circumstances are not felicitous and the contrast too low, researchers do not stand a chance of perceiving the glosses visually. Therefore, unless the researchers create felicitous lighting circumstances on purpose – e.g. by finding a library workstation next to a daylight window or by using some sort of adjustable (i.e. focusable) light source – it is usually only the most blatant scratches that reveal themselves by mere chance. However, even if researchers pay special attention to potential dry-point writing, it may happen that the time of the day, the weather and hence lighting conditions or the tiredness of the researchers effectively limit the visibility of dry-point writing. Training and familiarization of the eye with known dry-point material is helpful, of course, and the repeated autopsy of even well-studied MSS slowly increases the chances of an exhaustive edition by way of a continued approximation, so to speak.

Secondly then, discoverers have to realize that what they see might actually be writing. This is by no means obvious. Our eye is so much accustomed to black on white writing that our perception will not readily expect writing with much lower contrast where no writing is supposed to be, namely in between the lines or in the margin. Unless our perception is prepared for dry-point writing, such writing is highly likely to be filtered out along with the myriads of tiny details that our brain continuously keeps from jamming our stream of consciousness.

Thirdly, the person sitting in front of the MS must be interested in the matter to such an extent that she or he is ready to take note of the dry-pointing writing and is ready to go ahead with investigating it. This may sound like a straightforward thing to do, but it is by no means the only possible continuation. Perhaps,

the discoverer is running a tight schedule investigating an altogether different aspect of that MS and just cannot pay attention to the dry-point material at that moment. Perhaps, the discoverer would rather keep the discovery of the dry-point material under wraps for the moment, hoping to find time for it at some later stage, which possibly never happens. Perhaps, the glosses are not in a language that is of interest to the discoverer and even after adding a footnote to a publication, the information never or only much later reaches the interested specialist audience. Perhaps, the person feels she or he does not have the expertise to deal with the matter, but does not know who to turn to, either; the librarian will perhaps be pleased to hear the news and note it down somewhere, where it may go unheeded for many years to come. Perhaps, the discoverer even finds the right person to investigate the matter, but that person is swamped in work, too, and the information is not pursued.

Finally, the actual work on the dry-point glosses has to get started. Researchers have to be prepared to invest time and money, mainly to spend long hours staring at MS pages in dim reading rooms, while the sun is shining outside. Personally, I find it to be hard work, as it is physically exhausting and psychologically demanding, fraught with many motivational setbacks that have to be coped with. What one may think to be an established reading one day, may be put into question the next, when the light is different, and only rarely does a “ray of light” (cf. Sweet 1896: vi) quite literally make everything crystal clear. Several factors have an influence on the decipherer’s success:

- i. A profound knowledge of Anglo-Saxon palaeography will render the identification of individual letterforms much easier.
- ii. More than average knowledge of L. is necessary to cope with the often difficult L. prose of the base text.
- iii. Intimate knowledge of the base text as a whole will allow for a limitation of potential word fields that a gloss is to be searched in.
- iv. A comprehensive knowledge of the OE lexicon will allow the glossographer to make educated guesses after deciphering only some of the discernible letterforms.
- v. Detailed knowledge of other MSS of the same text and their often complicated textual affiliations will allow the gloss researcher to identify items of vocabulary that are especially prone to glossing.

In addition to that, there are also physical and mental capacities that are not present in the right combination in every interested individual: good eyes, a steady gaze, the ability to copy the scratches or mere indentations reliably onto a piece of paper while or after looking at the MS page, patience, perseverance and frustration tolerance well beyond average; or as Page (1979: 45) put it suc-

cinctly: “This would demand a student young, keen-sighted, competent, patient and optimistic.”

That being said, it seems to me that the study of OE dry-point glossing is one of the last frontiers of OE studies, as the domain of dry-point glossing is the most likely candidate for the discovery of as yet unknown sizable quantities of OE material. There is good evidence that many more OE dry-point glosses will eventually become known, perhaps slowly yet steadily, once the search for them is intensified and co-ordinated. Virtually all OE dry-point gloss scholars of the last 100 years agree that there is more yet unknown dry-point material to be found and this unanimous opinion should clearly not be disregarded before the evidence has been investigated thoroughly.

Moreover, developments in OHG glossography show that even MSS that have been studied extensively can yield previously unnoticed (or undeciphered) dry-point glosses in quite astonishing quantities (cf. Glaser 1997: 3). There is every reason to believe that the situation is no different in the case of Anglo-Saxon MSS. If we turn our attention to the MSS listed in our *Catalogue*, we can see that even within that small group of 34 MSS a lot of work is still hidden. An obvious example is provided by London, BL Cotton Cleopatra C. viii [16/K:145], whose dry-point glosses are mentioned by Napier (1900: xxi), but no edition of these glosses has been produced yet. Page (1981a: 113) also cautions that “there are Old English scratched glosses still to be found even in manuscripts that have been carefully searched already.” Hence, it would be a mistake to set those MSS for which there are no explicit reports about further undeciphered glosses aside for good. The “Boulogne Prudentius” [2/K:7], for instance, has over a thousand OE ink glosses, but only one OE dry-point gloss has been edited from it, so far. It is, of course, possible that this one OE dry-point gloss is all there is to be found. Yet, Meritt (1959) does not even indicate whether the discovery of this one single dry-point gloss is the result of a careful search or just a chance find. Therefore, it would be unwise to assume that the fact that there are no explicit reports about further dry-point material from this MS is in any way indicative of the fact that there is none. It may well be that both Napier and Meritt saw much more than what they actually noted down; perhaps, because it was not relevant for their purpose, as it did not yield workable material for their lexicographic concerns. Further research is dearly necessary here and in many other cases, too.

For many of the known OE dry-point gloss MSS there are even explicit reports of further unedited dry-point material. A quick, non-exhaustive survey of the reports and statements about further dry-point material in our *Catalogue* comprises the following MSS: Nievergelt (2009a: 27, n. 66) for Augsburg, UB Cod. I.2.4° 2 [1/K:287\*] (cf. p. 97); Page (1979: 30) for Cambridge, CCC 57 [3/K:34] (cf. p. 106); Page (1982: 156) for Cambridge, CCC 173 [4/K:40] (cf. p. 108); Page

(1979: 34–35) for Cambridge, CCC 223 [5/K:52] (cf. p. 113); Page (1981a: 107) for Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 30 [9/K:94] (cf. p. 126); Page (1981a: 107–109) for Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 31 [10/K:95] (cf. p. 130); Rusche (1994: 203, n. 48) for Cambridge, UL Kk. 3. 21 [11/K:24] (cf. p. 132); Hofmann (1963: 53–54, n. 1) for Fulda, HLB Bonifatianus 2 [12/K:A41] (cf. p. 135); Hofmann (1963: 52) for Kassel, UB 2° Ms. theol. 65 [13/K:121\*] (cf. p. 138); Napier (1900: xxxiii) implicitly for Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 697 [28/K:349] (cf. p. 183); Meritt (1957: 65–66) for Paris, BN lat. 9561 [30/K:369] (cf. p. 190); Schuler (2009) for St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394 [32/K:A44] (cf. p. 195); Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992: viii) for St. Paul i. L., Stiftsbibliothek 2/1 [33/K:–] (cf. p. 197); Hofmann (1963: 57–58) for Würzburg, UB M. p. th. f. 79 [34/K:400] (cf. p. 199). Moreover, there are the dry-point glosses in London, BL Royal 15 B. xix [22/K:268] (cf. p. 163), of which I have only had the opportunity to read a very small amount so far, unfortunately; they ought to be autopsied further, too.

It may well be that the edited dry-point material is only the proverbial tip of the iceberg. Page, for instance, after autopsying Cambridge, CCC 223 [5/K:52] notes:

After long and detailed examination of the manuscript in full sunlight, in various types of artificial light and with the ultra-violet lamp, I conclude that Meritt printed only a small amount of the gloss material that was once in the manuscript, and only a proportion of what can be made out even now. (Page 1979: 34)

For three other MSS from our *Catalogue*, Toon (1985: 321) also reports further findings to be made, namely London, BL Royal 13 A. xv [21/K:266], London, BL Additional 40 000 [15/K:131] and London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, ff. 170–224 [18/K:210]; for the last of them Toon estimates “that there are about a hundred more [dry-point glosses] to be read, but it won’t be easy” (Toon 1985: 321). Unfortunately, no information about the relevant folios is given and no samples are given, either. It is only for London, BL Royal 5. E. xi [19/K:252] that Toon (1985: 324–325) provides a small sample of his newly discovered dry-point glosses. Curiously, Gwara (1993; 2001b) – in his monumental edition of L. and OE glosses to ALDHELM’s *Prosa de virginitate* – does not seem to be aware of Toon’s (1985) edition, as he does not edit some of the dry-point glosses or gloss traces reported by Toon, and Toon’s (1985) article is not mentioned in Gwara’s bibliography, either.

Toon also reports further undocumented and unedited dry-point glosses in London, BL Cotton Tiberius C. ii (BEDA, *Historia ecclesiastica*, sec. viii<sup>ex</sup>), when he notes:

Meritt mentioned that there were a number of glosses here that he could not read. There are, indeed, a number that I am able to read, including some which Meritt read apparently without undue difficulty. On the other hand, this manuscript (and a number of the other manuscripts I am about to mention) has glosses which I can read quite easily, but must have given Meritt trouble, as he does not mention them. I sometimes transcribe what is for me an “easy” scratched gloss only to discover that Meritt missed it, while I might as well have to hunt carefully even to find glosses which Meritt has read with confidence, but I am hardly able to see. I offer these facts not as criticism of Meritt’s work, but as invitation to others who will no doubt see glosses both of us have missed. (Toon 1985: 320)

Unfortunately, Toon does not print any of the material that he mentions. New discoveries in Cotton Tiberius C. ii have not been reported or published since and the circumstances have even changed in disfavour of the study of dry-point material. We can assume that Toon – working in the early 1980s – conducted his study in the old reading room of the British Museum, when he writes: “I reserved work on bright and sunny days to more obvious glosses” (1985: 321). The old reading room of the British Library still featured outside windows, before it was roofed over by Norman Foster’s glass and steel design, which opened in 2000. The MSS of the British Museum, however, were transferred to the St Pancras building of the British Library (opened in 1998) whose MS reading room with its curtained roof windows only features diffuse artificial lighting. Since light plays a very crucial role in the detection of dry-point material, the muddy lighting situation is counter-productive for our purposes. An additional complication is specific to this MS: Cotton Tiberius C. ii [17/K:198] is listed as a restricted MS and access to it is granted “on one occasion and for a maximum of one day only”<sup>1</sup> and even so only in “exceptional circumstances”. Such exceptional circumstances may well be argued with regard to dry-point material, since conventional, photographic digital facsimiles usually do not reproduce them adequately. However, the time restriction puts a serious brake on their study: With the Pancras MS reading room opening at 9.30 a.m. and with restricted MSS having to be returned at 4.30 p.m., the interested scholar would only have less than 7 hours to examine the MS in total; as a consequence, chance finds are very unlikely to occur now. It is to be hoped that in the not-too-distant future digital procedures will allow for a prolonged study of the MS surface’s three-dimensionality, even after the MS itself has been returned to the vault.

Focusing on MSS that are not yet known to be OE dry-point MSS, it seems quite certain that Anglo-Saxon MSS at large have not yet been searched for

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1 Source: official request form of the British Library “Request for Access to Restricted and Exhibited Manuscript Material”, p. 1.

dry-point material systematically in the first place, and it is hard to believe that the known corpus of OE dry-point gloss MSS by pure chance represents the actual corpus of surviving OE dry-point gloss MSS. A number of MSS, for instance, are mentioned by Toon (1985: 321), but since he does not provide any precise statements about the language of the glosses, I did not include them in the *Catalogue* presented above. Toon reports dry-point glosses for London, British Library Harley 3826 [K:241]<sup>2</sup> and London, British Library Cotton Vitellius A. xix [K:217]<sup>3</sup> and describes the glosses as “[v]ery difficult”; he explains their previous non-detection as follows: “Few of these glosses would be obvious to a casual observer since they are often very faint and require focusing one’s eyes on the surface behind the inked glosses” (*ibid.*). However, he does not make any statements regarding their number or their position in the respective MS. He also refrains from giving any sample readings, which leaves the reader in doubt whether the mentioned dry-point glosses are OE in the first place. Such reports, I should say, are not good practice: they hide more than they reveal. A footnote giving a rough estimation of the quantity of glossing and listing the suspected scratches with their position in the MS (that is page or folio number and line number, perhaps even the L. lemma if it can be determined) would greatly facilitate the future study of these glosses and would allow for reports to complete the picture slowly yet steadily. Toon (1985: 321) also reports “hints of scratches in several places, but I was unable to read them” in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. xiv [G:367], containing BEDA, *Historia ecclesiastica*, sec. viii<sup>med.</sup>.<sup>4</sup> This MS was partly damaged in the Ashburnham House fire in 1731 and the excessive heat caused it to shrink and shrivel around the edges. I could not find any dry-point traces in December 2012, when I scrutinized the MS one morning by means of a handheld flashlight; however, the lighting conditions were less than ideal.

When it comes to the identification of OE dry-point gloss MSS that are not included in our *Catalogue*, it would seem that MSS that are glossed in OE ink are a good starting point for further work. The much more advanced study of OHG dry-point glossing has shown that – similar to texts glossed in ink – certain texts are more likely to attract dry-point glossing and often the same texts attract both ink and dry-point glossing (not only in the same MS, but also across the extant MSS of a certain text). The reasons for this cannot be generalized: in some cases, this may have been the result of the fact that some texts offered more syntactical or lexical difficulties than other texts; this may

2 Microfiche facsimile in O’Keefe (2003: 7–12 [no. 252]).

3 Microfiche facsimile in Doane (2007: 35–40 [no. 276]).

4 Thompson & Warner (1884: 79); Gneuss (2001: 68 [no. 367]); Lowe (1960: 24 [no. 38d]); CLA (2: 1703); Laistner (1943: 97); facsimile in Thompson & Warner (1884: Pl. 20).

be argued for ALDHELM's difficult *Prosa de virgintiate*. In other cases, it may have been due to the preference for certain authors to be used more regularly in the Anglo-Saxon classroom, such as ARATOR, JUVENCUS or SEDULIUS (cf. Wieland 1985: 153). As a consequence, their texts underwent a more systematic study, which may have resulted in a denser residue of glosses. One of many problems in this connection, however, is that for most occasional glosses, we do not know who wrote them and in what circumstances. Lapidge (1982b), in a very illuminating article, for instance, cautions that we should not too readily identify a book as a "classbook" merely on account of the fact that it is glossed. The overview of extant Anglo-Saxon MSS of texts associated with OE dry-point glossing may serve as a starting for further investigations in this direction.

## 7.2 New Approaches to Dry-Point Glosses

### 7.2.1 Digitally Assisted Decipherment of Dry-Point Glosses

Present-day visibility issues surrounding OE glosses are a reality. These issues set dry-point glosses clearly apart from the OE ink glosses and there are no easy solutions to the difficulties posed by them. Creating a pencil rubbing, as is sometimes done successfully with three-dimensional objects in archaeology or art history is not an option at all, as the soft surface of the parchment would not offer enough resistance to confer an image onto the intervening piece of paper. More importantly, the process would effectively damage or even destroy the delicate structures left behind by the stylus. My own experiments with dry-point writing on modern-day paper show that pencil rubbing applied directly to the dry-point writing itself in fact produces surprisingly easily legible results. Being an extremely invasive method of recovery, however, pencil rubbing is completely out of the question for actual Anglo-Saxon dry-point writing, as it effectively damages and destroys the integrity of the writing as such. Meritt (1934: 234) reports that some of the OHG dry-point glosses in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek F III 15c, sec. viii,<sup>5</sup> were rendered illegible after an unidentified person traced them with a pencil in 1932. Such non-reversible imperilment of dry-point writing must hence be avoided at all cost. If a similar method could be applied non-invasively – for instance by applying a "virtual rubbing" (i. e. a suitable graphics filter, highlighting locally prominent elevations and depressions) to a three-dimensional virtual copy of the dry-point writing – the study of OE dry-point glosses would be facilitated quite considerably.

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5 Cf. *BStK*: 184–185 ([no. 31]).

Graham (2009: 177) claims that the “best way for the modern scholar to search for scratched glosses in a manuscript is to use a fibre-optic cold light source”, mainly because this “light source may be brought as close to the surface of the page as desired without any risk of damaging the ink or parchment.” I can only partly agree with this, though. It is certainly true that the cold light has conservational advantages and the slender tip of the fibre-optic allows for great manoeuvrability, especially along the gutter margin of the MS, where dry-point glosses are often especially difficult to autopsy (cf. Nievergelt 2007: 77). However, in my experience, it would be preferable to have a focusable fibre-optic light source that would allow the gloss researcher to cast a harsh, raking light across the page. It may well be that such devices are available; however, the devices that I worked with produced a soft diffuse light, which was only partly helpful. In a sense, it would be highly desirable to imitate sunlight, not with respect to its intensity of course, but with respect to its perfectly aligned light beams that create sharp shadows.

No apparatus similar to the Japanese *kakuhitsu scope* (cf. above) is known to me that would have been used in conjunction with OE dry-point glosses (or OHG dry-point glosses for that matter). The Japanese apparatus was designed for paper MSS and would probably not yield the same quality of output with all the various types of dry-point glosses that are found in parchment MSS. Yet, the use of an auxiliary deciphering apparatus sounds like a very interesting approach: Working on dry-point gloss MSS, I often wish I had a third hand: With one hand wielding an adjustable light source, one hand holding a magnifying glass in the right position and one hand taking notes or making drawings of the dry-point material one soon has to realize that the human body has its sharply-defined physical limits. If the light source could be adjusted systematically and in a controlled and reproducible manner, the deciphering work on the MS may well become a little less tiring. Taking pictures in different lighting conditions would be of great help, too, but most libraries do not allow cameras in the reading rooms. Experienced OHG glossographers have assured me, however, that by careful and repeated appeasement of the librarians, the range of what is allowed can slowly be expanded to include taking pictures and sitting in particularly suitable spots within the reading rooms. After all, it is the librarians’ duty to see to it that no harm come to the MSS in their custody and hence it is the dry-point glossographers’ duty to convince their librarians that they are capable of handling the MSS with appropriate care.

More than eighty years ago, Bischoff (1928: 154) suggested that photography might be employed fruitfully in the study of dry-point material, but he considered it to be too expensive and hence proposed that the eye should suffice. Photographic possibilities have developed beyond everything that Bischoff must have envi-



sioned back then and the cost of photography has been decreasing continuously ever since, too. Never in the history of humankind has it been so inexpensive to produce a sheer unlimited series of pictures of an object, while the resolution and photosensitivity of the equipment has developed beyond everything that even the keenest of technology enthusiasts must have considered possible back in the 1920s. Moreover, image processing algorithms that allow for a nearly inexhaustible range of post-processing possibilities are available even to non-specialists. Yet, as far as I am aware, no such technologies have yet been deployed in the study of OE dry-point glosses. If the combination of appropriate lighting techniques and photography could be shown to provide an inexpensive yet reliable way to decipher and document dry-point writing, the dry-point researcher's difficult work could possibly be facilitated quite considerably. In addition, the possibilities of more advanced technologies, such as multi-spectral imaging techniques have not been exhausted yet. Perhaps, this is among other things due to the fact that skimming light techniques offer the best results with dry-point glosses, and hence an altogether different lighting approach has to be taken than with illuminations, palimpsests or damaged fragments, which are most commonly subjected to multi-spectral investigations. Experiments in this area will have to take this into consideration, and negative reports will have to be scrutinized with respect to the special requirements of dry-point writing, before those technologies are rejected rashly. If dry-point glosses do exist as physical objects, then there must be a way of recording and documenting them by applying some appropriate imaging procedure. Once the right specialists are found, the dry-point scholars will surely be able to benefit from digital approaches, even if traditional MS autopsy will remain the most important tool of the dry-point scholar's toolbox.

An interesting example of how 3D data can be collected in a corpus is provided by "The Irish Inscribed Stones Project", hosted at the National University of Ireland, Galway.<sup>6</sup> 3D scans of over 300 inscribed stones from Clonmacnoise are available for download in Adobe's PDF format. For each physical object, in this case an inscribed piece of stone, there is one file. Each file consists of a description of the physical object including an edition of the inscription and a short bibliography. A vector representation of the 3D object is included in the PDF, which can be turned interactively in all dimensions. The user can zoom in on the object, change the rendering of the vector object and change the lighting on the basis of a number of pre-sets. The orientation of the countless ridges and grooves of the objects can then be turned freely so that the light creates shadows in the right spots to allow the user to study the object in great detail without unduly disturbing the original object. The technique could probably not

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6 URL: <<http://www.nuigalway.ie/irish-inscribed-stones-project/>>.

be applied to dry-point glosses directly, since the structures of the stone surface are scanned with much less detail than those with which the tiny grooves produced by dry-point glosses would have to be recorded. Yet, an adaptation of the methods at a different scale must surely be possible. Hence, it would be possible to have an online repository of OE dry-point glosses where each dry-point gloss is represented both in an interpreted manner – that is in the form of an edition – and in a non-interpreted, objectivized manner – in the form of a raw 3D vector data set, which may be downloaded and fed into whatever computational algorithm may be of interest.

A promising technical approach to the visibility issues with dry-point writing has been undertaken by *The Lichfield Cathedral Imaging Project*, headed by William F. Endres.<sup>7</sup> In 2014, they photographed each MS page of the Lichfield Gospels some 45 times, with the light raking at a different angle across the vellum surface each time. They then used *Reflectance Transformation Imaging* (RTI) software to combine the visual information into a high-resolution composite file that allows users browsing their project web page to scrutinize the MS pages at extraordinary resolution in varying lighting and contrast settings without having to travel to Lichfield. Some of the dry-point material can be deciphered quite easily in the RTI images and Endres has been able to detect and decipher previously undocumented dry-point writing, too.<sup>8</sup>

While I am confident that new deciphering technologies will eventually be applied to OE dry-point glosses with great benefit, there are still major financial, organizational and conservational concerns to be tackled. In August 2013, a team under the direction of Dr. Nathanael Busch and attended by the OHG dry-point gloss expert Prof. Dr. Andreas Nievergelt were allowed to take surface scans of several MSS at the Stiftsbibliothek in St. Gallen. One of the MSS that they included was St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1394 [32/K:A44] and scans were produced of several OE dry-point glosses on p. 127 of that fragment on my behalf. I was invited to be present during their work and I could catch some glimpses of the images captured, which looked exciting. However, during the post-processing stage it became evident that the procedure would have to be refined much further before the results would allow us to gain new insights. I had hoped to present some preliminary findings here, but there is nothing that I can report. So far, all my plans to establish whether it is possible to produce a three-dimensional scan of something as tiny as the groove produced by a stylus on a piece of parchment have failed. At ISAS 2013, several people were

7 URL: <<https://lichfield.ou.edu/>>; the web site features interactive RTI images of all four MS pages known to contain dry-point writing (i.e. 217, 221, 226), cf. <<https://lichfield.ou.edu/st-chad-gospels/features>>.

8 William F. Endres (personal communication, August 8, 2016).

interested in that aspect of the matter, including archaeologists, digital humanities experts and palaeographers, but nobody had any information concerning projects concerned with such small 3D structures.

### 7.2.2 Dry-Point Glosses and Digital Humanities

The “digital turn” has been one of the hot topics of the humanities in recent years. In philology and palaeography, this turn has perhaps been less pronounced than in other disciplines, yet some very interesting projects have developed in these areas as well, such as “DigiPal” – *Digital Resource and Database of Palaeography, Manuscripts and Diplomatic*<sup>9</sup> or “LangScape” – *The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside*,<sup>10</sup> both developed at the Department of Digital Humanities at King’s College London. These digital humanities projects aim at a comprehensive view of their subjects – that is English Vernacular minuscule of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. and Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries, respectively – by compiling large amounts of data in databases. Such digital databases have both advantages and disadvantages over printed catalogues and handlists. One of the main disadvantages of such large-scale databases is that they inherently run the risk of turning into digital graveyards, once the project duration has ended. Brown (1992), for instance, reports the near-completion of a cross-referenced digital corpus of OE glossaries that he and several assistants and consultants had been compiling in the 1980s. It must have been developed quite some way and contained over 40,000 entries, consisting each “of at least one L. word as lemma, usually followed by a Latin or Old English interpretation (or both)” (Brown 1992: 100). The compilation of the database was driven by the conviction that the complexity of the affiliations between the various OE glossaries called for database management techniques. After all, the human mind is at a clear disadvantage against computers when it comes to pattern recognition across a large and complicated dataset such as the data presented by the extant OE glossaries. Already Henry Sweet had pointed out:

To deal fully and successfully with these glossaries would require a combination of qualities that has never yet been achieved, together with several lifetimes. The investigator of Old-English as a whole – to whom these glossaries are only subordinate sources of information – is therefore often obliged to work by guesswork until some one else guesses better, and to be thankful for an occasional ray of light. (Sweet 1896: vi–vii)

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9 URL: <<http://www.digipal.eu>>.

10 URL: <<http://www.langscape.org.uk>>.

The database must have yielded interesting finds already in the state that it had reached by the time Brown's (1992) paper appeared. The compilation of the database had been financed by the National Endowment for the Humanities of the United States Government from July 1984 to December 1985 and the "keyboarding", as Brown calls it, seems to have been concluded. This means that the database must have existed in some digital form. Brown even mentions that some of the work had to be entered a second time manually from paper print-outs, because some back-ups had been deleted due to a misunderstanding (1992: 101): Fortunately, paper copies of the database had been sent to interested scholars and the information could be entered again on the basis of these print-outs. When I tried to follow up on the good fortunes of the project, however, I could not find a single article or monograph that had resulted from that exciting enterprise. Brown's (1992) article was one of the last articles that he ever published and he passed away in 2009. When I tried to follow up on the whereabouts of the actual data by contacting the academic staff at Ohio State University,<sup>11</sup> I had to learn that the database was probably not extant, at least no trace of it was to be found, nor did any of the senior staff members know anything about it.

Printed databases, such as Ker's (1957) *Catalogue* or Wanley's (1705) *Catalogus*, are much better equipped to withstand the test of time, yet their up-to-dateness and hence completeness necessarily lags behind the developments in the field. Updates, such as Ker (1976) or Blockley (1982; 1994), can mend this discrepancy to some extent, yet the more updates there are the more tiresome it is to keep track of the developments, because the various updates have to be collated to make sure that no information is accidentally missed. Digital databases, on the other hand, such as the German "Handschriftencensus", which keeps track of some 23,000 medieval MSS containing texts in German in over 1,400 repositories can be updated continuously. For each MS there is a short catalogue entry with bibliographical information – not unlike the catalogue entries I present above. Moreover, users are invited to add information about individual MSS, which is then revised by an editor and put online.<sup>12</sup>

The digital turn has also reached most MS repositories in Western Europe. Only a few years ago, most MSS (except for a few exceptionally famous ones for

11 Lisa Kiser (personal communication, October 9, 2013).

12 URL: <<http://www.handschriftencensus.de>>. The quality of the maintenance of the website is quite remarkable: Following up on the whereabouts of Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center HRC 29 (cf. p. 72, n. 17), I noticed that the pressmark listed in the Handschriftencensus for that MS was probably out-dated, I notified the editor using the in-built commentary function of its catalogue entry and the information was updated within a matter of hours – even though it was a Sunday. Cf. URL: <<http://www.handschriftencensus.de/6660>>.

which costly printed facsimiles were available) could only be seen *in situ* or after ordering a microfilm, whose quality was usually dismal and whose inspection was more often than not cumbersome. Today, a large number of medieval MSS have been digitized in outstanding quality and made publicly available. Out of the 34 MSS listed in our *Catalogue*, 14 MSS are already now available on-line as integral digital facsimiles. For some of the other MSS, digital facsimiles of individual pages are available from the websites of their respective repositories (e.g. from the British Library). It can thus be assumed that the MSS in question have been photographed entirely, and it is to be hoped that these repositories will soon follow suit in adopting open-access policies. If the digitization continues at the current pace, it is not unlikely that there will be online facsimiles available for most of the MSS in our *Catalogue* before the end of this decade. Even though dry-point glosses are usually not visible in digital facsimiles, the availability of such facsimiles still proves to be a great boon during the work on dry-point material, because text collations and general observations about the MS's layout and composition can be conducted in one's office, with the desired secondary literature at hand. This facilitates preparations for later autopsies quite considerably, although it will never replace them.

In general, however, despite all these exciting developments, one must say that dry-point glosses have remained basically untouched by the much-quoted "digital turn" in the humanities so far. As of October 2017, there is not even an entry for "dry-point gloss" among the 4.3+ million entries in the English Wikipedia.<sup>13</sup> After my seemingly endless praise for the enterprising innovativeness of the German dry-point gloss researchers throughout this study, it will not come as a surprise to the benevolent reader that there has been such an entry in the German Wikipedia at least since 2008.<sup>14</sup> Admittedly, the mere fact that there is an entry on a particular topic in Wikipedia is not necessarily an indicator of the attention that the topic enjoys. The absence of an entry, however, surely indicates a general lack of awareness regarding a particular phenomenon.

### 7.3 Desiderata

The field of OE dry-point glosses has never attracted a large amount of attention, and also the wider field of OE gloss studies is characterized by a small, albeit steady number of individual contributions, rather than any concerted global approaches to its issues. With the vivid OHG glossographic scholarly

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<sup>13</sup> URL: <<http://en.wikipedia.org/>>.

<sup>14</sup> URL: <<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griffelglosse>>.

community in mind, however, one can easily envision several projects, which would surely provide frameworks that would propel the study of OE glossing to a new level.

### 7.3.1 A Corpus of Old English Glosses?

Unlike Steinmeyer and Siever's unified collection of OHG glosses, published between 1879 and 1922 (*StSG*), no comprehensive collection of OE glosses has ever been compiled. Napier (1900) and Meritt (1945) both included a large number of OE glosses, but they have to be collated with a large number of editions printed in widely scattered publications if one wants to gain something of an overview of OE glossing. Plans to produce some kind of multi-volume compendium were under discussion at least until the 1980s (cf. Dumville 1992a: 61), but they did not materialize, mainly because the interest in glossography moved away from glosses and started to focus on glossing. Hence, the usefulness of list-like collections of lemma/interpretamentum pairs – analogous to *StSG* or *TPH* – has become questionable:

It so happens that the very aim and scope of the subject have changed: glossographic studies are no longer practically limited to the Old English glosses, nor will they serve lexicographical purposes only, i. e. provide materials for word-studies and dictionaries. In future they will embrace all manifestations of the glossographer's activity, considered as a phenomenon *sui generis*. (Derolez 1992b: 12)<sup>15</sup>

Most (if not all) 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-c. gloss editions almost exclusively focussed on procuring lexical material for dictionary makers. As a consequence, the typical layout of such editions consists of a list in which pairs of lemmata and interpretamenta are placed side by side. Meritt (1961) may serve as an example of such an edition:

- i. Codicological information is kept to the bare minimum; basically, all there is, is a reference to Ker's *Catalogue*, a date for the MS and a date for the gloss. The dates are not justified or even discussed; they are presented as apparent facts (although they were certainly not meant like that).
- ii. Palaeographical details are never discussed; the edition does not state what script is used nor does it indicate how the base text is related to other copies of the same text.
- iii. The base text is only referred to by its author and title; a critical edition of the base text is sometimes referenced.

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15 In younger years, Derolez had argued strongly in favour of such an endeavour (cf. Derolez 1953: 174).

- iv. The passage in which the L. lemma occurs is indicated for each gloss by the corresponding page number in the edition of the L. base text.
- v. Basic information about the MS, such as size, origin, provenance, layout, integrity of the MS is completely absent. The presence of L. glossing is only mentioned if it has direct consequences for the interpretamenta, such as OE interpretamenta glossing L. interpretamenta, rather than the L. base text.
- vi. The placement of the gloss in the MS is usually not discussed and line numbers are nearly always absent.
- vii. Parallel glossing is not indicated systematically: glosses from other MSS are quoted in rare instances, but they are never discussed.
- viii. Doubts about readings are only occasionally expressed in the footnotes, but no systematic approach is discernible.
- ix. The context of the L. lemma is never quoted; grammatical congruence between the OE interpretamentum and the L. lemma is never discussed; blatant grammatical or semantic incongruence is discussed very curtly in footnotes.
- x. No grammatical information about the L. lemmata or the OE interpretamenta are given, unless the editor felt that a footnote is necessary, in which case it often borders on the enigmatic.
- xi. Neither the L. lemmata nor the OE interpretamenta are ever given translations.
- xii. The manner of entry (ink vs. dry-point) is only marked indirectly in the footnotes, making it rather difficult to distinguish ink and dry-point glosses in the edition.
- xiii. There is no systematic indication about how much time was spent on the MS and, more importantly with respect to dry-point glossing, how exhaustive the edition may be.
- xiv. Unsuccessful or partial readings are often quoted only by way of summary and there is no list of undeciphered scratches and their location in the MS.

It is not in the least my intention to disparage such editions. All of these properties just listed arguably made sense in the scholarly practice of the time. They ensured a degree of efficiency in the representation of the glosses and allowed for a quick and easy way to look up gloss material. Clearly, the editors of these editions knew so much more about the glosses than what they put in writing, but it simply was not customary to expound more than just the bare essentials. We can get a glimpse of the erudite depth of Meritt's considerations behind the list-like editions in his highly interesting publication *Some of the Hardest Glosses in Old English* (Meritt 1968), where the issues surrounding a selection of especially difficult OE glosses are unfurled with great expertise. There is

no question that Meritt would have been able to give translations or discuss the many semantic, lexical, morphological and graphematic nuances hidden in the interpretamenta, but merely presenting the bare outlines of it all was a conscious decision, which was in line with the scholarly tradition. In the light of new and exciting models for gloss editions represented by OHG dry-point editions like Glaser (1996), Nievergelt (2007) or Ernst (2007) or OE ink gloss editions like Richter (1996), however, list-like editions do no longer live up to the expectations that gloss editions have to live up to. It would be preferable to present OE glosses in such a fashion that the editions pave the way for a continuous accumulation of knowledge about OE glosses and OE glossing by supplying as much detailed information about the glosses in their MS context as possible.

If traditional, list-like editions were to be taken as the model for a collective corpus of OE glosses, the resulting collection would simply aggregate the shortcomings of the existing editions. This insight was one of the defining results of the 1986 conference on Anglo-Saxon glossography held in Brussels, as attested by a number of articles published in its proceedings (Derolez 1992a).

There is in fact work here for several generations. It is accordingly important that no more than minimal level of obsolescence be built into editions of gloss-texts. If our vision is sufficiently clear at this stage, texts of such comprehensive accuracy (unencumbered by excessive expressions of mere opinion) can be planned and published that our successors will thank (rather than curse) us and (instead of having to reedit) will pass on to a higher level of understanding, of the corpus and its constituent parts, than we have been able to achieve. (Dumville 1992: 74)

In principle, then, it is feasible to produce a corpus of Old English glosses: in practice arduous. What we need in the coming years, I suspect, is a series of sample attempts at editing passages of glossed manuscripts, to see how their material can most effectively be laid out to give the maximum information without confusion. (Page 1992: 94)

After 150 years of ‘selective’ editing, it is time – in my view – to turn our attention to the wider aspects of Anglo-Saxon glossography. (Lapidge 1992: 57)

The “series of sample attempts” that Page envisioned has not yet been realized. While the scholarly quality of OE gloss editions is certainly high, the manners of presentation are still centred on the list.<sup>16</sup>

16 For lack of a comprehensive bibliography of OE gloss editions, I sampled the editions (or edition-like assemblies) of OE glosses since 1990 from the “OE Newsletter database” (URL: <<http://www.oenewsletter.org/OENDB/index.php>>). They all rely on the traditional layout: Richter (1996), Voss (1996), Kittlick (1998), Dietz (2001), Lendinara (2001), Kalbhen (2003). Sampling the publications of recent years, it is striking that OE gloss scholarship seems to have become a predominantly Continental undertaking.



In a sense, the *DOEC* 2009 can be seen as an existing digital corpus of OE glosses, as it contains the vast majority of printed OE glosses in digital form. However, since the *DOEC* 2009 encompasses so much more OE material than just the glosses, the glosses are not contained in a suitably refined manner. During the incorporation of the printed editions in the database, the data had to be simplified to fit the layout of the database, resulting in the traditional list-like representation. In addition to that, the data had to be stripped of nearly all supplementary information and it cannot really serve as glossographic corpus, for which it had not been intended in the first place, anyway.

### 7.3.2 A Corpus of Old English Glosses!

The usability of the corpus of OE dry-point glosses could be greatly improved if the phenomenon of OE glossing was approached more comprehensively and, as I would like to argue, more didactically. L. lemma and OE interpretamentum should not be reduced to their linguistic forms and printed in a list, but rather they should be taken as starting points for excursions into many different aspects of glossing. There is no such thing as a perfect gloss edition, because new research interests will require new categories of classification. Hence, it would be desirable to have an expandable and fluid edition, which can hardly be achieved in a printed book. The possibilities offered by digital, relational databases could be put to great use here, allowing a re-ordering of the information according to criteria that may suit a particular research question. However, we are still far away from such a database and it seems more useful to address the down-to-earth requirements of a good printed edition. Let me do so by fantasizing about the perfect gloss edition, whose description is heavily influenced by OHG gloss editions (cf. p. 55 above) and also reflects Page's ideas on the topic (cf. Page 1992: 85).

The perfect printed gloss edition is not completely different from the gloss editions that we know, but it deviates decisively in the explicitness of information that is gathered. The individual pieces of information (including factoids) ought to be retained as intact as possible and constantly remain retraceable to their origin. This is the only way to ensure that the "level of obsolescence" (Dumville 1992: 74) can be minimized by making all individual steps of an argument retraceable, too. Editors of dry-point gloss editions must not be afraid to present the complexities of the MS evidence to their full extent.

The MS itself ought to be described in as much detail as possible, which must include the exact number of folios with a detailed listing of the contents, a detailed description of the layout of the MS pages, an estimation of the overall extent of glossing (both L. and vernacular throughout the MS), information

about the collation of the quires, precise information about the integrity of the extant codex, a detailed palaeographical description of the base texts as well as a thorough review of suggested origins, provenances and datings – either neatly quoted from printed resources (relying on a quasi-exhaustive bibliography) or presented as a new, original finding.

Each gloss is presented in such a fashion that the user of the edition can get a clear picture of the context of both the interpretamenta and the lemmata in the MS context. The exact position of the interpretamentum on the MS page – indicated by folio, line number and exact placement vis-à-vis the L. lemma – is crucial for that. The precise spelling of the interpretamentum (with a detailed description of the graphematic and palaeographical realization of it) is accompanied by a suitable phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactical and dialectological analysis of the OE interpretamentum. With difficult readings (i.e. most dry-point glosses), doubts about the reading have to be related in as much detail as possible. Information about part of speech, number, case / tense, nominal / verbal class of the interpretamentum is stated explicitly for each word form. Relevant sources, such as grammars, handbooks, lexical and syntactical studies are quoted to allow the reader to follow up on difficult issues. Palaeographical claims should not be related *ex cathedra*, either: Arguments about datings and observations about unusual letter forms have to be made explicit; all readers must be invited to make up their own minds by being able to follow up on the relevant literature if they choose to do so.<sup>17</sup> Gloss traces or unidentifiable scratches must be treated with the same precision as easily decipherable glosses. At the very least, their precise position on the MS page ought to be recorded.

Each gloss is documented by means of one high-resolution facsimile picture – shot in grazing light conditions in the case of dry-point writing. The inclusion of black and white facsimile pictures in the printed publication is not particularly useful, as the printing quality in most academic publications cannot meet the requirements of a high-quality printed facsimile. Instead, an alternative may be found in setting up a companion website where appropriate digital data is provided for download. If an online facsimile of the MS in question is publicly available online, it may also be interesting to provide links to the online facsimiles in

17 Just to exemplify this point: The OE ink glosses in Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium D. 5. 3 [25/K:293], for example, are dated “late eleventh or early twelfth century” by Meritt (1945: xvi). Ker (1957: 353), however, states: “probably of s. x”. Of course, opinions may differ. Nonetheless, it is certainly frustrating and – more importantly – detrimental to the advancement of our knowledge that neither of them gives any clues as to what these datings are based on. It is not my place to criticize earlier researchers for their extremely valuable work, but it is to be hoped that the quantification of palaeographical study – as spearheaded by projects like “DigiPal” (cf. above) – will further stimulate and facilitate the objectivization of palaeographical discourse.

such a manner that the gloss in question is centred automatically and displayed at a suitable magnification. In the case of dry-point glosses, a three-dimensional digital object could be provided for download if this technique should prove to be feasible and helpful.

The precise textual context of the L. lemma is to be given both in the original and in a suitable translation. The surrounding sentence has to be transcribed and major deviations from the text preserved in other MS of the same text ought to be identified on the basis of critical editions (if available). Additionally, the L. lemma ought to be described morphologically, syntactically and lexically.

The time-honoured custom of not translating the L. lemmata or the OE interpretamenta into present-day English is harmful for the clarity and usefulness of the produced editions. Traditional editions tend to present the OE data as if everything was clear about it. Admittedly, there would be no need for translations of the L. or the OE material if every gloss scholar involved were perfectly fluent in both languages, which may have been the case in the early days of Anglo-Saxon philology. I know that this is not the reality nowadays. If OE gloss studies want to spur interest, they must become more accessible. Hence, both the L. base text and the interpretamenta must be furnished with suitable translations. Problematic translations must be marked as such. If necessary, the semantic range of possibilities ought to be specified.

Previous editions of the glosses have to be identified and considered accordingly. Incongruities between various readings have to be recorded and explained. This is especially important with respect to dry-point glosses, but it also plays a role with ink glosses.

The glosses have to be contextualized beyond the MS, too. Other MSS of the same text have to be listed and checked for parallel glossing. Edited parallel glosses on the same lemmata in different texts have to be referenced and discussed. The possibility of stemmatic affiliation between different glosses has to be investigated. Interpretamenta of the same word family glossing other lemmata in different texts ought to be traced, too, allowing us to fathom how a particular concept is rendered linguistically.

Finally, printed editions ought to be produced with a subsequent incorporation of the data into a digital database in mind. That means that once the data is published in print, the digital data ought to be stored in a format that can be re-used later on during the inclusion of the data in a database.

If I may fantasize just a little further, the next logical step in an open-access approach would be the actual incorporation of the data into a well-planned and suitably maintained digital database. Once incorporated in the digital database, the corpus could later be refined by explicit categorization according to phenomena of interest: Functional classifications, morpho-syntactic congruence

between the interpretamentum and the lemma, types of merographs, substitution ciphers, *hapax legomena* etc. Such categorization could then be analysed statistically with great benefit for the study of OE glossing. At any time, new categories could be introduced and the categorization complemented across the existing corpus by researchers interested in a particular aspect of glossing. I have to admit this is a long haul, but even the most daunting task can be accomplished one step at a time, as long as there is a framework that holds the many individual achievements that are necessary in the right place. Within such a framework, the documentation of OE glosses could thus be atomized into individual, intricately inter-related facts and factoids, for which hypertext seems to be the perfect medium. Hypertext can easily and reliably be distributed via the world wide web. Thus, users can call up the desired information at a mouse-click and follow the individual pieces of information to their sources. Moreover, hypertext is scalable, expandable and updateable. Such a well-documented framework might just provide the “minimal level of obsolescence” that Dumville (1992: 74) envisions.

### 7.3.3 An Update of Ker's *Catalogue*

Ker's (1957) *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* is still an outstanding piece of scholarship with tremendous importance for the textual and palaeographical study of OE. As I mentioned above, it was augmented in one major update by Ker himself (Ker 1976) and in two minor updates by Mary Blockley (Blockley 1982; 1994). However, it is clearly in need of further updates for several reasons. First of all, new MSS containing OE have been discovered that are not included in the *Catalogue* or any of its updates. From among the OE dry-point gloss MSS presented here, two MSS (namely [23/K:–] and [33/K:–]) have to be added.<sup>18</sup> Surely, a number of other MSS should be added, too, such as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 6401A, which features OE ink glosses that had already been noticed by Bolton (1977: 49, n. 103; cf. Page 2001: 219)<sup>19</sup> or a number of MSS mentioned in Bulitta (2009).<sup>20</sup> Secondly, fifty years' worth of

18 Incidentally, the OE dry-point gloss in St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek 2/1 [33/K:–] had already been published in Bischoff & Löfstedt (1992), but it was too well hidden there to reach the Anglo-Saxonist community before the copy deadline of Blockley (1994).

19 The OE ink gloss <superne pind> *superne wind* 'southern wind, south wind', interlinearly glossing L. *auster* in the phrase L. *Illud p[ro]terius auster/ Totis uiribus urget* 'The vehement south wind drives at it [mountain top] with all forces' (BOETHIUS, *De consolazione philosophiae*, Bk. 2: 4) is visible on f. 22<sup>v</sup>, l. 21 (centre column) of the digital facsimile (digitized microfilm) provided by "Gallica: Bibliothèque numérique". URL: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078393d>>.

20 Cf. above n. 72 on p. 53.

new editions, translations as well as codicological and palaeographical works published since the *Catalogue* came out, are not incorporated, and it would be highly desirable that this information were to be complemented. Thirdly and finally, the internal coverage of Ker's *Catalogue* is very uneven. While some items are described at great length and in admirable detail, other MSS are barely mentioned. This holds especially true for the majority of the Continental MSS, because Ker (being an expert palaeographer) relegates them to the *Appendix* on palaeographical grounds. This, in turn, is especially deplorable for the study of OE glossography, because OE gloss MSS are represented over-proportionally in this inadvertently ostracized group of MSS.

An open-access relational database served via the world-wide-web would provide the perfect medium for such an endeavour by providing (i) accessibility, (ii) flexibility, (iii) scalability, (iv) fluidity, (v) hypertextuality, (vi) interactivity and (vii) interoperability:

- i. Users can easily access the open-access resource via their web browser, all they need is access to the world wide web. Anyone who is interested, both experts and students can thoroughly acquaint themselves with these MSS.
- ii. The database can be augmented and updated from the point of view of information structure and database design at any given moment if new research questions and hence data fields are required.
- iii. New finds can easily be accommodated at all times and the database can be expanded in all imaginable directions with the possibility of adding open-access text data, image data, audio-visual data and even structured data (ranging from simple lists to 3D vector data).
- iv. Outdated information, such as claims that have been put into questions, can be marked as such (while keeping the presumably outdated information for future reappraisal) and hence, the users are provided with up-to-date reliable descriptions, reflecting the state of the art.
- v. By furnishing the text of the descriptions with suitable hyperlinks, the users can access diverse layers of information by following up on issues that they are interested in within the database. Moreover, all items can be linked to suitable open-access sources throughout the world wide web, such as open-access facsimiles of MSS, digitized library catalogues, teaching resources, online encyclopaedias and dictionaries.
- vi. Both expert and lay users can be encouraged to add their thoughts, ideas, suggestions, subjective or objective observations, reviews, bibliographical addenda etc. about the items. It may well be that such additions are not always insightful, yet they surely cannot be harmful, either, as long as they are strictly separated from the editorial sections.

- vii. A relational digital database would allow several (explicitly designated and authorized) editors to maintain and expand the actual content of the descriptions.

Such databases are no mere fantasy, as their potential has been recognized long before I ever thought about such an endeavour. The German “Handschriftencensus”, for instance, demonstrates that such databases can be successfully operational in a long-term perspective.<sup>21</sup> “DigiPal” is another digital database that is even specifically centred on Anglo-Saxon MSS (albeit restricted to AD 1000–1100),<sup>22</sup> but in a project-driven academic setting, the future will have to show whether “DigiPal” will be available as a long-term resource once the funding has run out.<sup>23</sup> Only as a resource that is maintained in a long-term perspective, however, a digital *Catalogue* can outrun the printed resources in the bookshelves. Even if Ker’s (1957) masterpiece may be somewhat dated by now and even more so in fifty years to come, it is by no means certain that the “Handschriftencensus” or “DigiPal” will still be online in fifty years. Ker’s printed *Catalogue*, on the other hand, will in all likelihood still be an important part of the Anglo-Saxon palaeographical discourse by that time.

### 7.3.4 An Indexed Bibliography of Old English Gloss Studies

A desideratum, which definitely ought to be tackled first, though, is a comprehensive bibliography of the study of OE glossography. Such a compendium seems to have been under construction at least until the late 1980s (cf. Derolez 1992b: 11), however, it did not materialize.<sup>24</sup> The flexibility, scalability and hypertextuality of a digital database would provide the perfect carrier for such a long-term endeavour. Anglo-Saxon bibliographical databases, such as the “Anglo-Saxon Newsletter database”,<sup>25</sup> already exist and they are an invaluable research tool. However, what is missing, is a bibliography that specifically focuses on Anglo-Saxon glossographic, codicological and palaeographical issues.

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21 URL: <<http://www.handschriftencensus.de>>.

22 URL: <<http://www.digipal.eu>>.

23 According to the “Community Research and Development Information Service” website, the project “Digital Resource and Database of Palaeography, Manuscripts and Diplomatic” (project reference: 263 751) runs from October 2010 to September 2014. URL: <[http://cordis.europa.eu/projects/rcn/96097\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/projects/rcn/96097_en.html)>. It is to be hoped that this wonderful digital resource can be salvaged, perhaps even maintained or augmented in some form after that period.

24 One may wonder whether a substantial draft of such a bibliography might be extant in Prof. Derolez’s archives.

25 URL: <<http://www.oenewsletter.org/OENDB/index.php>>.

By carefully indexing and cross-referencing the MSS and gloss issues that are treated in the items, an indispensable and lastingly helpful tool could be created that would ensure fast access to the relevant secondary literature. It would also provide the interested scholar with a certain security that no important resources in connection with a particular MS are missed.

The digital integration of both such a bibliography and an updated, digital *Catalogue* of Anglo-Saxon MSS (as briefly outlined above) would constitute a powerful research tool. Complex relationships could be managed and updated, growing both in completeness and in usability over time. Editions, secondary literature, handbook articles etc. could be indexed so that users are able to gain a quick overview of the work done on a particular MS.

## 7.4 Concluding Remarks

The present study identified and described 34 medieval MSS – both from Anglo-Saxon England and from early medieval Continental Europe – that are now known to contain OE dry-point glosses. This is the first time that such a list has been compiled and it is the first time that the extent of the phenomenon of dry-point glossing in OE has been put into comparative juxtaposition to the well-known practice of ink glossing in OE. Due to the widely differing manners of editions, it is difficult to quote a precise number of dry-point glosses, but we can say that the current tally stands at ca. 3,850 edited OE dry-point glosses. By carefully tracing the history of the study of OE dry-point glosses, we have been able to corroborate what many dry-point gloss scholars had already suspected, namely “how unlikely it is that our corpus of them is anything like complete” (Page 1979: 30). The *Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain Dry-Point Glosses* given here, therefore, really only may serve as a *preliminary* appraisal of the phenomenon. It is dearly to be hoped that the *Catalogue* will soon have become out-dated, as our near complete ignorance of the phenomenon of dry-point glossing in OE will continuously be diminished in the years to come.

To my own surprise, I identified London, British Library Royal 15. B. xix [22/K:268] as a dry-point gloss MS, while compiling the *Catalogue*. This discovery, which for lack of an edition will have to be corroborated by future research, may serve as a reminder that dry-point glosses are still to be detected in well-known MSS that are not too far off the Anglo-Saxonists’ well-trodden paths.<sup>26</sup> It

26 After getting some odd remarks at ISAS in Dublin 2013, I think it is important to stress that I do not “claim” the dry-point glosses in this MS (or in any other MS for that matter), which would be a ludicrous notion by any means and detrimental to the advancement of our knowledge of dry-point glossing. I shall share my notes gladly with every re-

may also serve as a reminder, though, that the technological advances of the late 20<sup>th</sup> c. and early 21<sup>st</sup> c. have not yet reached the reading rooms of MS libraries. The dry-point gloss researchers' tools are essentially still the same as they were a hundred years ago, namely a magnifying glass, a handheld torch and copious amounts of patience. It is seriously to be hoped that some headway will be made in this direction in the near future.

The compilation and subsequent analysis of the *Catalogue* has allowed us to see some patterns in the known corpus of OE dry-point gloss MSS. I could show, for instance, that our understanding of early dry-point glossing in OE is dominated by Continental finds, which can be associated with the Anglo-Saxon missionary activities of the 8<sup>th</sup> c. Early dry-point gloss finds from Anglo-Saxon England, however, are virtually inexistent so far, and it remains to be seen whether the lack of research in that area has skewed our data or whether the practice of dry-point glossing in OE simply was not widespread before the 9<sup>th</sup> c. in Anglo-Saxon England. I was also able to show that Canterbury, Christ Church Priory and Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey may have been monastic centres where dry-point glossing was practised in the late 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Again, future research will have to clarify whether this finding can be upheld once our picture of dry-point glossing in OE becomes denser. In fact, one of the most important patterns that seem to be recurring is the impression that OE dry-point glosses have predominantly been found where scholars have looked for them. This, at least, is a promising prospect for the future study of OE dry-point glossing.

The present *Catalogue* may serve as a point of comparison against which new OE dry-points finds can be assessed. The *Catalogue* with its detailed listing of OE dry-point gloss editions will hopefully help to prevent duplication of reports and aid researchers in identifying parallels in previous readings with their own readings. I think I have been able to show that the decipherment of dry-point glosses is a cumulative effort. The study of dry-point glossing requires repeated reappraisal and it is therefore of the greatest importance that researchers always juxtapose their own readings with those of their predecessors. Differences should not be glossed over (if you will pardon the pun), rather, they ought to be discussed openly and in detail, because in the long run, this is the only way to deal with this visually difficult material. Many lessons can be learned from OHG gloss scholarship in this respect, whose dynamism may perhaps one day spark new approaches in OE dry-point gloss studies, too.

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searcher who has the means to study the glosses in London, British Library Royal 15. B. xix [22/K:268].



I think the compilation of a *Catalogue of Old English Gloss Manuscripts* in imitation of *BStK*, for instance, might be a worthwhile endeavour. How Ker could compile his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Ker 1957) all on his own, by way of a one-man-effort, is beyond my mental faculties, however. The compilation of the comparatively short *Catalogue of Manuscripts Known to Contain OE Dry-Point Glosses* presented above took me what feels like an eternity; and this despite the fact that I could rely on the great and wonderfully insightful work done by the likes of Ker, Napier, Meritt, Bischoff, Page, Gwara and many others. The glossographic desiderata that I outlined roughly would have to be tackled as a joint effort by a team of international codicologists, palaeographers, historians, historical linguists and gloss scholars both across geographical and disciplinary borders. Moreover, intensified collaboration with optical engineers may perhaps one day result in improved digital means of deciphering dry-point material on parchment and thus reduce some of the difficulties that the study of this perceptively difficult material poses at the moment.

I have tried to argue that the collaborative compilation of an open-access *Catalogue of Old English Gloss Manuscripts*, of an open-access *Bibliography of Old English Gloss Studies* and perhaps ultimately of an open-access *Corpus of Old English Glosses* would greatly improve the cohesion of the scholarly field of OE gloss studies and allow for a comprehensive view of the subject, which is rendered practically impossible by the fragmented documentation of OE glossography today. Of course, there is no way of knowing whether any of these desiderata will ever be tackled, however, I trust one day they will have to be, because, after all, as Dumville (1992: 12) foresightfully remarks with respect to OE glossing: “There is work here for several generations.”



## 8. Abbreviations and Bibliography

### 8.1 Abbreviations

acc.	accusative	m.	masculine
AS	Anglo-Saxon	ME	Middle English
Bibl. mun.	Bibliothèque municipale	MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
BL	British Library	n.	note, footnote; neuter
BN	Bibliothèque nationale	no., nos.	number, numbers
CCC	Corpus Christi College	nom.	nominative
dat.	dative	OE	Old English
E.	English	OHG	Old High German
EDDB	Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek	OS	Old Saxon
f.	feminine	<i>Pdv</i>	<i>Prosa de virginitate</i>
gen.	genitive	pers.	person
G.	German	PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
HLB	Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek	pl.	plural
Ill., Ills.	Illustration, Illustrations	Pl.	Plate
ind.	indicative	sg.	singular
It.	Italian	subj.	subjunctive
l., ll.	line, lines	UB	Universitätsbibliothek
L.	Latin	UL	University Library

### 8.2 Abbreviated References

Note: All URLs given here were checked for availability on 17 August 2016.  
AWB = Karg-Gasterstädt, Elisabeth & Theodor Frings (eds.). 1968-. *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch. Auf Grund der von Elias von Steinmeyer hinterlassenen Sammlung im*

- Auftrag der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig bearbeitet und herausgegeben.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- BLCoIM = *British Library: Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*. Online resource. URL: <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm>>.
- BLOC = *British Library Online Catalogue*. Online resource. URL: <<http://searcharchives.bl.uk>>.
- BMS = Bischoff, Bernhard. 1966–1981. *Mittelalterliche Studien: ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- BSIH = Bergmann, Rolf & Stefanie Stricker (eds.). 2009. *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie. Ein Handbuch*. 2 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- BSIK = Bergmann, Rolf & Stefanie Stricker (eds.). 2005. *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften, bearbeitet von Rolf Bergmann und Stefanie Stricker, unter Mitarbeit von Yvonne Goldammer und Claudia Wich-Reif*. 6 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- BT = Toller, T. N. (ed.). 1882–1898. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*. 4 parts. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CG = *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1849–1993.
- CLA = Lowe, Elias Avery (ed.). 1934–1971. *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*. 12 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CMLUC = The Syndics of the University Press. 1858. *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. 6 vols. Cambridge: University Press.
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While quill and ink were the writing implements of choice in the Anglo-Saxon scriptorium, other colouring and non-colouring writing implements were in active use, too. The stylus, among them, was used on an everyday basis both for taking notes in wax tablets and for several vital steps in the creation of manuscripts. Occasionally, the stylus or perhaps even small knives were used for writing short notes that were scratched in the parchment surface without ink. One particular type of such notes encountered in manuscripts are dry-point glosses, i.e. short explanatory remarks that provide a translation or a clue for a lexical or syntactic difficulty of the Latin text. The present study provides a comprehensive overview of the known corpus of dry-point glosses in Old English by cataloguing the 34 manuscripts that are currently known to contain such glosses. A first general descriptive analysis of the corpus of Old English dry-point glosses is provided and their difficult visual appearance is discussed with respect to the theoretical and practical implications for their future study.

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